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Homer

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ILIAD

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ALEXANDER POPE, Esq.

THE
ILIAD
OF
HOMER.

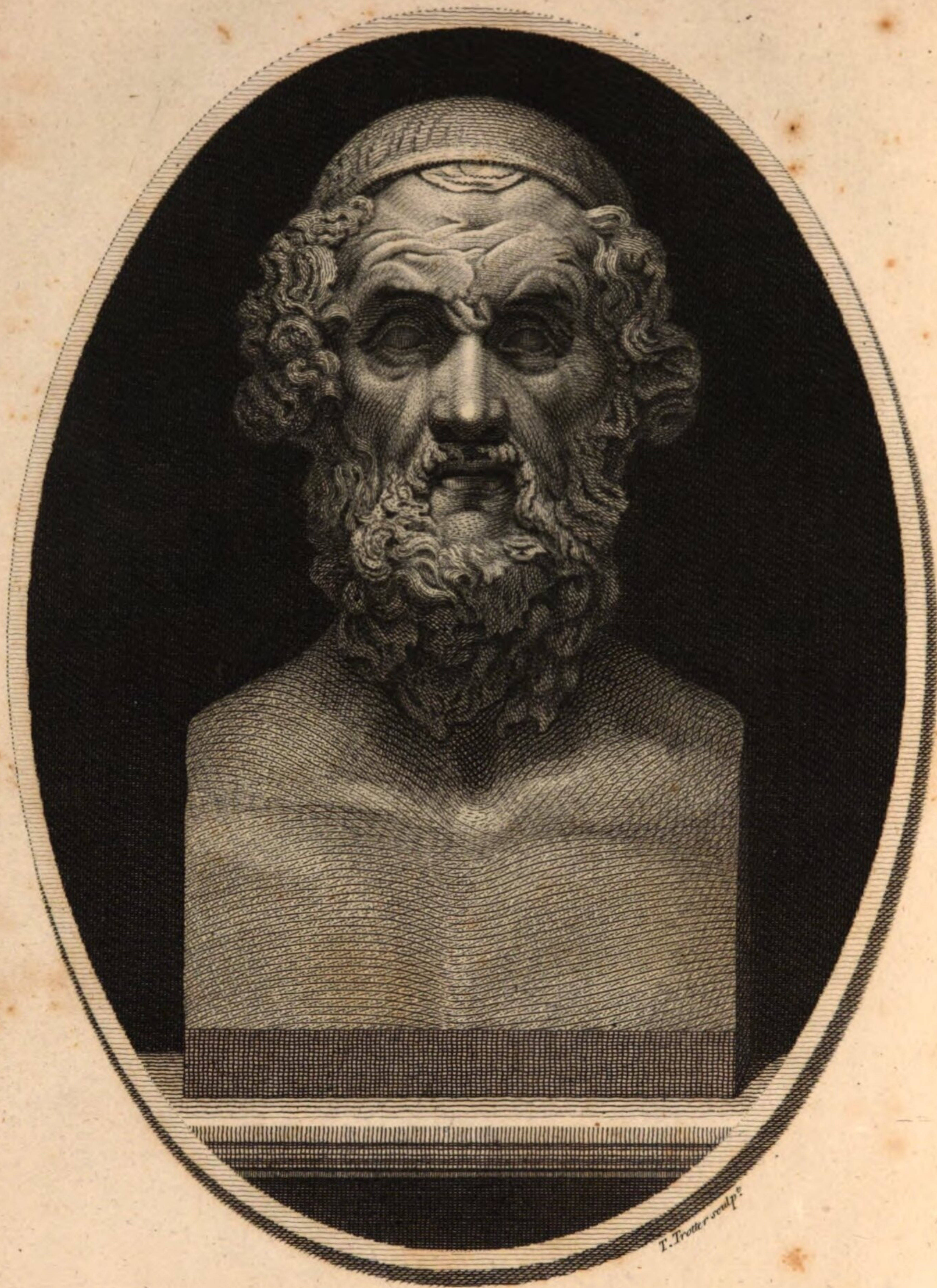
TRANSLATED BY

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H O M E R .

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TE SEQUOR, O GRAIÆ GENTIS DECUS! INQUE TUIS NUNC
FIXA PEDUM PONO PRESSIS VESTIGIA SIGNIS:
NON ITA CERTANDI CUPIDUS, QUAM PROPTER AMOREM,
QUOD TE IMITARI AVEO. LUCRET.

A NEW EDITION,
WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES, CRITICAL AND ILLUSTRATIVE,
By GILBERT WAKEFIELD, B. A.

VOLUME I.



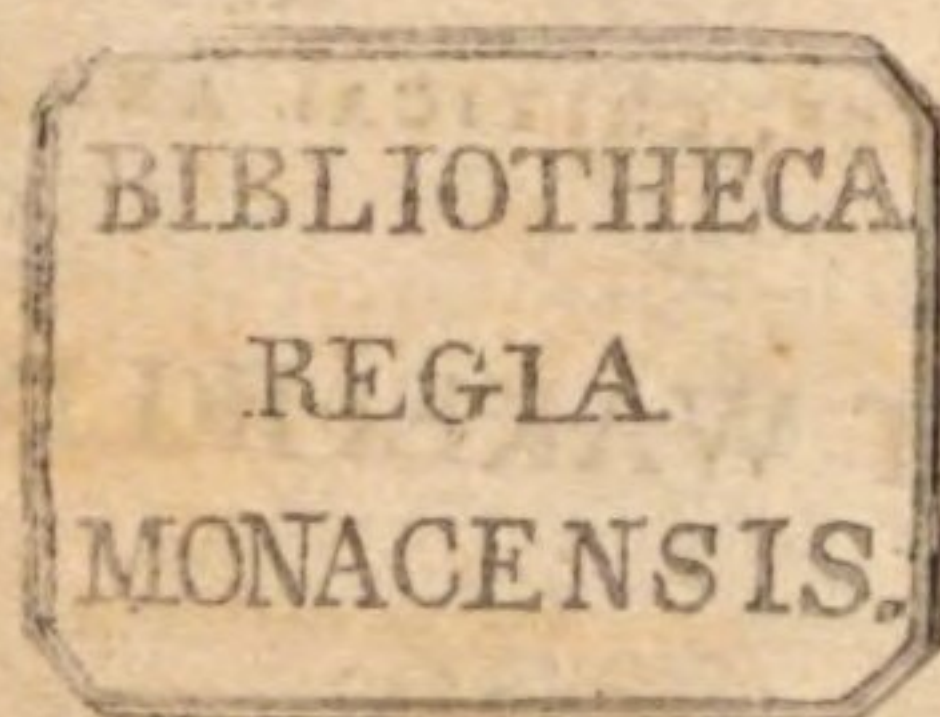
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AND M. POTE.

M DCC XCVI.

ILLIAD
HOMER.



FOR THE MUSEUM, BY J. J. JOHNSON, C. DILLI, G. D. AND J. ROBINSON,
W. D. AND S. D. RICHMOND, G. D. AND J. ROBINSON, G. D. AND J. ROBINSON,
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M DCC XCVI.

PREFACE.

HOMER is universally allowed to have had the greatest *Invention* of any writer whatever. The praise of judgment Virgil has justly contested with him, and others may have their pretensions as to particular excellencies; but his *Invention* remains yet unrivaled. Nor is it a wonder if he has ever been acknowledged the greatest of poets, who most excelled in that which is the very foundation of poetry.* It is the *Invention* that in different degrees distinguishes

* For poetry, in it's proper acceptation, is absolutely *creation*, *ποίησις*; or invention. In the *three* requisites, prescribed by Horace, of poetic excellence,

Ingenium cui fit, cui mens diviniior, atque os
Magna sonaturum;

the first, *ingenium*, or *native fertility* of intellect, corresponds to the *Invention* of Pope. See the preface to my volume of observations on our poet. Editor.

all great Geniuses: the utmost stretch of human study, learning, and industry, which masters every thing besides, can never attain to this. It furnishes Art with all her materials, and without it, Judgment itself can at best but *steal wisely*: for Art is only like a prudent steward that lives on managing the riches of Nature.* Whatever praises may be given to works of judgment, there is not even a single beauty in them to which the Invention

* Quintilian, in book ii. chapter 19th of his oratorical institutes, has appreciated these respective claims of *art* and *nature* with an elegance, a comprehension, and precision, that induce me to exhibit the whole of his remarks for the gratification of the reader.

“ I know, it is made a question, whether *Nature*, or *Learning*,
 “ contributes most to Eloquence. Now, if they must be separated,
 “ *Nature*, even without *Learning*, has great efficacy; but *Learning*
 “ without *Nature* is altogether inefficient. But, if you suppose them
 “ combined in equal quantity, Mediocrity, in my judgement, will
 “ owe more to *Nature*, but the consummation of excellence, to
 “ *Learning*: just as a soil, destitute of fertility, will derive no
 “ benefit from the most skilful cultivator; while something useful,
 “ even without cultivation, will spring from a teeming soil: but more
 “ will accrue from the cultivator, where the soil is good, than from
 “ it's native excellence. So, should Praxitiles himself undertake to
 “ carve a statue from a mill-stone, I would prefer a block of Parian
 “ marble in it's unpolished state; but, should that artist exert his
 “ skill on this piece of marble, the statue would owe more to his
 “ ingenuity, than to it's materials. In short, *Nature* is the materials

must not contribute*: as in the most regular gardens, Art can only reduce the beauties of Nature to more regularity, and such a figure, which the common eye may better take in, and is therefore more entertained with. And perhaps the reason why common criticks are inclined to prefer a judicious and methodical genius to a great and fruitful one, is, because they find it easier for themselves to pursue their observations through an uniform and bounded walk of Art, than to comprehend the vast and various extent of Nature.

“ in this example, and the statuary’s art is *Learning*: one *fashions*,
 “ the other is *fashioned*. Art is nothing without materials: but
 “ materials, even without art, have their value. Consummate Art,
 “ however, is preferable to the very best materials.” Editor.

* The passage stood thus in the first edition:—there is not even a single beauty in them *but is owing to the invention*: as in the most regular gardens, *however Art may carry the greatest appearance, there is not a plant or flower, but is the gift of Nature. The first* can only reduce the beauties of *the latter into a more obvious* figure, which the common eye——.

This observation may appear to favour of satirical censoriousness, but I believe it to be extremely just. That wild and exuberant genius, Dryden, has been of late years much undervalued amidst the public admiration of more regular and chastised writers; but has invariably commanded the veneration of consummate judges. See Dr. Johnson’s incomparable parallel of him and our poet in

OUR author's work is a wild paradise*, where if we cannot see all the beauties so distinctly as in an ordered Garden, it is only because the number of them is infinitely greater. It is like a copious nursery which contains the seeds and first productions of every kind, out of which those who followed him have but selected some particular plants, each according to his fancy, to cultivate and

the life of Pope, and letter li. in the 4th section of Gray's Memoirs by Mason.

* Some no less beautiful remarks of Addison, in the 417th *Spectator*, are apposite, and will gratify the reader.

“ Reading the Iliad is like travelling through a country uninhabited, where the fancy is entertained with a thousand savage prospects of vast deserts, wide uncultivated marshes, huge forests, misshapen rocks, and precipices. On the contrary, the *Æneid* is like a well-ordered garden, where it is impossible to find out any part unadorned, or to cast our eyes upon a single spot, that does not produce some beautiful plant or flower.”

And here it may not be unseasonable to remind the reader, that the sobriety of Addison's imagination and the chastised accuracy of his judgement inclined his affection in a great degree towards Virgil, whom Pope was induced to disparage in competition with his master, in consequence of a venial and unavoidable predilection for an author, with whom he had been so peculiarly connected; thus engaged by self-love, to the aggrandisement of a poem, essentially interwoven with the merit and reputation of his own labours.

P R E F A C E.

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beautify. If some things are too luxuriant, it is owing to the richness of the soil*; and if others are not arrived to perfection or maturity, it is only because they are over-run and oppressed by those of a stronger nature.

IT is to the strength of this amazing invention we are to attribute that unequalled fire and rapture, which is so forcible in Homer, that no man of a true poetical spirit is master of himself while he reads him†. What he writes,

* Quod, ut vitium est, ita copiae vitium: “Which, though it be a fault, is the fault of innate fertility,” says Quintilian: an author, with whom our poet appears, no less from this preface, than from his Essay on Criticism, to have cultivated an attachment. Editor.

† Let me for once presume to instruct the times,
To know the poet from the man of rhymes,
'Tis he, who gives my breast a thousand pains;
Can make me feel each passion that he feigns:
Inrage, compose, with more than magic art;
With pity, and with terror, tear my heart;
And snatch me, o'er the earth, or thro' the air,
To Thebes, to Athens, when he will, and where.

Imitations of Horace, b. ii. ep. i. ver 340.

And Longinus says very elegantly of Demosthenes, in his 34th section on the *sublime*: *ἴαττον ἂν τις κεραυνοῖς φερομένοις ἂν ἀντανοῆσαι τὰ ὀρμηκὰ δύναίτο, ἢ ἀντοφθαλμησαὶ τοῖς ἐπαλληλοῖς ἐκεῖναι παθεῖν*: “Lightning itself were more supportable to the sight, than the successive flashes of his impassioned eloquence.” Editor.

is of the most animated nature imaginable; every thing moves, every thing lives, and is put in action. If a council be called, or a battle fought, you are not coldly informed of what was said or done as from a third person; the reader is hurried out of himself by the force of the Poet's imagination, and turns in one place to a hearer, in another to a spectator *. The course of his verses resembles that of the army he describes,

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν, ὥσεί τε πυρὶ χθονὶ πάντα νέμοιτο·

They pour along like a fire that sweeps the whole

* Our poet has not delivered his conceptions in this place with sufficient distinctness and conformation. A passage from Longinus, which is intended to convey a parallel remark, may be employed as a seasonable illustration of the sentiment before us. It occurs in the 26th chapter of his treatise.

“ A very powerful dramatic efficacy arises from a change of
 “ persons, which frequently makes the hearer, or reader, imagine
 “ himself engaged in the very midst of danger :

Thou would'st have thought, so furious was their fire !

No force could tame them, and no toil could tire :

Iliad xv. 844.

“ where the discourse is addressed to an individual ; as in this
 “ example also :

Thou hadst not known with whom Tydides fought :

Iliad v. 85.

*earth before it**. It is however remarkable that his fancy, which is every where vigorous, is not discovered immediately at the beginning of his poem in its fullest splendor: it grows in the progress both upon himself and others, and becomes on fire like a chariot-wheel, by its own rapidity. Exact disposition, just thought, correct elocution, polished numbers, may have been found in a thousand; but this

“ The passions of the reader are more excited, his attention raised,
 “ and a deeper interest in the transactions of the poem is produced,
 “ by the vivacity of these personal appeals.” Editor.

* This is a very inadequate representation of the Greek verse, which occurs in Iliad ii. ver. 780. Under a previous solicitation of the reader's indulgence, I shall attempt a more exact resemblance:

With wasting fury, as a flood of flame
 Rolls o'er the ground it's waves, the squadrons came.

In my apprehension, the leading impressions of Homer's comparison are “ the vigour, the compactness, and formidable aspect of this “ moving host:” and the peculiar image of fire naturally directs our attention to the refulgence of their armour; so that this circumstance had probably a place also in the intention of the poet. It will amuse the reader to compare the various executions of this unadorned verse by the translators. Pope himself has generated no less than four verses from it; which are grand and noble, but considerably impaired by the previous introduction of an extraneous *simile* of his own, which counteracts and deadens the efficacy of his author's:

Now, like a deluge, covering all around,
 The shining armies swept along the ground:

poetical fire, this *Vivida vis animi**, in a very few. Even in works where all those are imperfect or neglected, this can over-power criticism, and make us admire even while we disapprove. Nay, where this appears, though attended with absurdities, it brightens all the rubbish about it, till we see nothing but its own splendor. This *Fire* is discerned in Virgil, but discerned as through a glass, reflected from Homer, more shining than fierce†,

Swift as a flood of fire, when storms arise,
Floats the wide field, and blazes to the skies. *Ver. 946.*

He seems to have made some use of Dacier, and might have profited by a closer adherence to her expression: *A l' éclat de ses armes, on l' auroit prise pour un embrasement, qui ravageoit la plaine.*

Chapman is very strange:

————— their breaths, as they did passè,
Before them flew, as if a fire, fed on the trembling grassè.

Travers is more commendable than his predecessors:

Now rush'd the armies with a clatt'ring sound,
Swift as a flame devours the thirsty ground.

The line may be literally given thus:

As fire devouring the whole ground, they went:
whence the English reader, unfettered by comments, may form his own opinion of Homer's object in this comparison.

* This expression, the *lively vigour of mind*, is taken from the first book of Lucretius, and is applied to the genius of Epicurus by that sublime poet. Editor.

† In the first edition, with less elegance he wrote, *And more*

but every where equal and constant: in Lucan and Statius, it bursts out in sudden, short, and interrupted flashes: in Milton it glows like a furnace kept up to an uncommon ardor * by the force of art: in Shakespear, it strikes before we are aware, like an accidental fire from heaven: but in Homer, and in him only, it burns every where clearly, and every where irresistibly †.

I SHALL here endeavour to show, how this vast *Invention* exerts itself in a manner superior to that of any poet, through all the main constituent parts of his work, as it is the great and

shining than *warm*. The improvement might be suggested by a verse in Prior's *Lady's Looking-Glass*:

The setting sun adorn'd the coast,
His beams intire, his *fierceness* lost.

In much the same spirit Longinus, Sect. ix. says of Homer: "So that in his *Odysey*, we may compare Homer to the setting sun, whose magnitude continues without his fierceness." Editor.

* Altered from "the uncommon *fierceness*" of the first edition, for an obvious reason. Editor.

† It is not improbable, that our poet profited in this passage by the same rhetorician's estimate of Demosthenes and Cicero in the xii. section of his treatise:

"Demosthenes from his vehemence, his rapidity, his strength and fierceness, may be resembled to a flash of lightning, or a thunder-bolt; but Cicero, like a spreading fire, rolls himself round in extensive devastation with a vigorous and lasting flame."

peculiar characteristic which distinguishes him from all other authors.

THIS strong and ruling faculty was like a powerful *star**, which in the violence of its course, drew all things within its *vortex*. It seemed not enough to have taken in the whole circle of arts, and the whole compass of nature to supply his maxims and reflections†; all the inward passions and affections of mankind, to furnish his characters; and all the outward forms and images of things for his descriptions; but wanting yet an ampler sphere to expatiate in, he opened a new and boundless walk for his imagination, and created a world‡ for himself in the invention of *Fable*. That which Aristotle calls the *Soul of poetry*, was first breathed into

* *Star* : in the first edition, planet; and altered without reason, probably at the instigation of some friend, pretending to more philosophy than he possessed : for the Cartesian hypothesis presumed, that the *planets* were borne along by *vortices*; the secondary round the primary, and the primary round the sun. Editor.

† *To supply his maxims and reflections.*] This clause was super-added to the first edition; and *furnish*, in the next sentence, substituted for *supply*. Editor.

‡ So Dr. Johnson, in his sublime and justly celebrated prologue, of Shakspeare :

Exhausted *worlds*, and then imagin'd new.

it by Homer*. I shall begin with considering him in this part, as it is naturally the first, and I speak of it both as it means the design of a poem, and as it is taken for fiction.

Fable may be divided into the *probable*, the *allegorical*, and the *marvellous*. The *probable fable* is the recital of such actions as though they did not happen, yet might, in the common course of nature: or of such as though they did, become fables by the additional episodes and manner of telling them. Of this sort is the main story of an Epic poem, *the return of Ulysses, the settlement of the Trojans in Italy*, or the like. That of the Iliad is the *anger of Achilles*, the most short and single subject that ever was chosen by any Poet. Yet this he has supplied with a vaster variety of incidents and events, and crowded with a greater number of councils, speeches, battles, and episodes of all kinds, than are to be found even in those poems whose schemes

* This is elegantly expressed; but Aristotle's words are these: *Αρχη μὲν ἐν καὶ οἷον ψυχὴ ὁ μῦθος τῆς τραγῳδίας, δευτερον δὲ ταῦτα*: Poët. cap. στ. "The Fable is the foundation, and as it were the soul, of Tragedy: next the Morals." Editor.

are of the utmost latitude and irregularity. The action is hurried on with the most vehement spirit, and its whole duration employs not so much as fifty days. Virgil, for want of so warm a genius, aided himself by taking in a more extensive subject, as well as a greater length of time, and contracting the design of both Homer's poems into one *, which is yet but a fourth part as large as his †. The other epic poets have used the same practice, but generally carried it so far as to superinduce a multiplicity of fables, destroy the unity of action, and lose their readers in an unreasonable length of time. Nor is it only in the main design that they have been unable to add to his invention ‡, but they have fol-

* So that the plan of the *Odyfsey* is adumbrated in the *six* first *Æneids*, and that of the *Iliad* in the *six* last. Editor.

† The shortness of some books in the *Odyfsey*, and the greater general length of Virgil's books, render a larger proportion, than that of *one* to *four*, necessary in his favour. Editor.

‡ This uniform traditionary decision of the critics may be reasonably called in question, from a very obvious and indisputable principle: What has once acquired the general applause and admiration of mankind, renders a material departure from it's plan extremely hazardous, and insecure of public approbation. Passive acquiescence, therefore, may spring from timidity, as well as from

lowed him in every episode and part of story. If he has * given a regular *catalogue* of an *army*, they all draw up their forces in the same order. If he has funeral games for Patroclus, Virgil has the same for Anchises, and Statius (rather than omit them) destroys the unity of his action for those of Archemorus. If Ulysses visit the shades, the Æneas of Virgil and Scipio of Silius are sent after him. If he be detained from his return by the allurements of Calypso, so is Æneas by Dido, and Rinaldo by Armida. If Achilles be absent from the army on the score of a quarrel through half the poem, Rinaldo must absent himself just as long, on the like account. If he gives his hero a suit of celestial armour, Virgil and Tasso make the same present to theirs. Virgil has not only observed this close imitation of Homer, but where he had not led the

defect of genius. It may be true then, that Homer's plan is best, and even perfect: but the scarcity of variation from it may evidently be occasioned by the motives now alledged. Editor.

* It should have been: "If he *have* given ——" in conformity to the construction of the succeeding sentences. And below: "If he *give* his hero——."

way, supplied the want from other Greek authors. Thus the story of Sinon and the taking of Troy was copied (says Macrobius) almost word for word from Pisander, as the loves of Dido and Æneas are taken from those of Medea and Jason in Apollonius, and several others in the same manner*.

To proceed to the *allegorical fable*: If we reflect upon those innumerable knowledges †, those secrets of nature and physical philosophy, which Homer is generally supposed to have wrapped up in his *allegories*, what a new and ample scene of wonder may this consideration afford us? How fertile will that imagination appear, which was able to clothe all the properties of elements, the qualifications of the mind, the virtues and vices, in forms and persons; and

* This expression is ambiguous and obscure. I suppose he means, “and several *other stories* in the same manner.” But his system of punctuation, both in prose and verse, is extremely awkward and indistinct.

† *Knowledges*. Perhaps, this is the only instance of the *plural* form of this substantive in our language. Johnson gives no example: and it appears to me a more proper peculiarity for notice, than for imitation.

to introduce them into actions agreeable to the nature of the things they shadowed? This is a field in which no succeeding poets could dispute with Homer; and whatever commendations have been allowed them on this head, are by no means for their invention in having enlarged his circle, but for their judgment in having contracted it. For when the mode of learning changed in following ages, and science was delivered in a plainer manner; it then became as reasonable in the more modern poets to lay it aside, as it was in Homer to make use of it. And perhaps it was no unhappy circumstance for Virgil, that there was not in his time that demand upon him of so great an invention, as might be capable of furnishing all those allegorical parts of a poem.

The *marvellous fable* includes whatever is supernatural, and especially the machines of the Gods. If Homer was not the first who introduced the Deities (as Herodotus imagines) into the religion of Greece*, he seems the first

* The words, from "If Homer—to Greece," are supplied from

who brought them into a system of machinery for poetry, and such a one as makes its greatest importance and dignity. For we find those authors who have been offended at the literal notion of the Gods, constantly laying their accusation against Homer as the chief support of it *. But whatever cause there might be to blame his *machines* in a philosophical or religious view, they are so perfect in the poetic, that mankind have been ever since contented to follow them: none have been able to enlarge the sphere of poetry beyond the limits he has set: every attempt of this nature has proved unsuccessful; and after all the various changes of times and religions, his Gods continue to this day the Gods of poetry.

We come now to the *characters* † of his

the first edition, and were probably wanting to the last from a mere typographical omission. The passage of Herodotus, here alluded to, is extant in ii. 53. where Hesiod, however, is associated with Homer in this circumstance.

* It stood in the first edition, with less precision; “as the
“undoubted inventor of them.”

† Thus Addison in the 273rd Spectator:

“Homer has excelled all the heroic poets that ever wrote in the

persons, and here we shall find no author has ever drawn so many, with so visible and surprising a variety, or given us such lively and affecting impressions of them. Every one has something so singularly his own, that no painter could have distinguished them more by their features, than the Poet has by their manners. Nothing can be more exact than the distinctions he has observed in the different degrees of virtues and vices. The single quality of *courage* is wonderfully diversified in the several characters of the Iliad. That of Achilles is furious and intractable *; that of Diomedes forward, yet listening to advice

“ *multitude and variety of his characters.*—There is scarce a speech
 “ or action in the Iliad, which the reader may not ascribe to the
 “ person who speaks or acts, without seeing his name at the head of
 “ it.” Editor.

* As Horace says of this hero, in the Art of Poetry :

———— iracundus, inexorabilis, acer.

And Addison, in the Spectator lately quoted, has these similar observations :

“ Homer’s princes are as much distinguished by their manners,
 “ as by their dominions ; and even those among them, whose
 “ characters seem wholly made up of courage, differ from one
 “ another as to the particular kinds of courage, in which they
 “ excell.” Editor.

and subject to command: that * of Ajax is heavy, and self-confiding; of Hector, active and vigilant: the courage of Agamemnon is inspirited by love of empire and ambition, that of Menelaus mixed with softness and tenderness for his people: we find in Idomeneus a plain direct soldier, in Sarpedon a gallant and generous one. Nor is this judicious and astonishing diversity to be found only in the principal quality which constitutes the main of each character, but even in the underparts of it, to which he takes care to give a tincture of that principal one. For example, the main characters of Ulysses and Nestor consist in *wisdom*; and they are distinct in this, that the wisdom of one is *artificial* and *various*, of the other *natural*, *open*, and *regular*. But they have, besides, characters of *courage*; and this quality also takes a different turn in each from the difference of his prudence: for one in the war depends still

* This sentence stood thus in the first edition:

“We see in Ajax an heavy and self-confiding valour, in Hector an active and vigilant one:”—but was justly changed for the benefit of a more uniform construction, and compacter phraseology.

upon *caution*, the other upon *experience*. It would be endless to produce instances of these kinds. The characters * of Virgil are far from striking us in this open manner; they lie in a great degree hidden and undistinguished, and where they are marked most evidently, affect us not in proportion to those of Homer. His characters of valour are much alike; even that of Turnus seems no way peculiar but as it is in a superior degree; and we see nothing that differences the courage of Mnestheus from that of Sergesthus, Cloanthus, or the rest. In like manner it may be remarked of Statius's heroes, that an air of impetuosity runs through them all; the same horrid and savage courage appears in his Capaneus, Tydeus, Hippomedon, &c. They

* Here our author seems clearly indebted to the remarks of Addison in the paper lately quoted :

“ Virgil falls infinitely short of Homer in the characters of his poem, both as to their variety and novelty.—Gyas, Mnestheus, Sergestus, and Cloanthus, are all of them men of the same stamp and character :

——— *fortemque Gyam, fortemque Cloanthum.*

“ I do not see any thing new or particular in Turnus.—In short, there is neither that variety nor novelty in the persons of the Æneid, which we meet with in those of the Iliad.”

have a parity of character, which makes them seem brothers of one family. I believe when the reader is led into this track of reflection, if he will pursue it through the *Epic* and *Tragic* writers, he will be convinced how infinitely superior in this point the invention of Homer was to that of all others.

The *speeches* are to be considered as they flow from the characters, being perfect or defective as they agree or disagree with the manners of those who utter them. As there is more variety of characters in the *Iliad*, so there is of speeches, than in any other poem. *Every thing in it has manners** (as Aristotle expresses it) that is, every thing is acted or spoken. It is hardly credible in a work of such length, how small a number of lines are employed in narration†. In Virgil the dra-

* The remark is just ; but, if the following passage of the poetics, cap. vi. be intended, is a misconception of Aristotle's meaning :

Και γὰρ οὖν ἐχει παν, καὶ ἦθος, καὶ μυθον, καὶ λεξιν, καὶ μελῶς, καὶ διανοίαν ὡσαύτως.

† “ Homer, says Aristotle in the 24th chapter of his poetics, “ amongst many commendable qualities, deserves particular praise “ in this respect also ; as the only poet fully sensible of a poet's duty. “ For a poet should speak as little as possible in his own person : for “ then he is no longer an imitator. Accordingly, others introduce

matic part is less in proportion to the narrative; and the speeches often consist of general reflections or thoughts, which might be equally just in any person's mouth upon the same occasion. As many of his persons have no apparent characters, so many of his speeches escape being applied and judged by the rule of propriety. We oftner think of the author himself when we read Virgil, than when we are engaged in Homer: all which are the effects of a colder invention*, that interests us less in the action described: Homer makes us hearers, and Virgil leaves us readers.

If in the next place we take a view of the *sentiments*, the same presiding faculty is eminent in the sublimity and spirit of his thoughts. Longinus has given his opinion, that it was in this part Homer principally ex-

“ themselves as actors through their whole performances, and are
 “ unfrequent and partial imitators: but he, after a short preamble,
 “ immediately introduces some human character, or something else
 “ not destitute of manners, with invariable propriety.” Editor.

* Which is shewn by an inability to delineate characters of sufficient diversity, and to preserve, on every occasion, an appropriate discrimination of the same characters in their speeches and their actions. Editor.

celled *. What were alone sufficient to prove the grandeur and excellence of his sentiments in general, is, that they have so remarkable a parity with those of the scripture: Duport in his *Gnomologica Homerica*, has collected innumerable instances of this sort. And it is with justice an excellent modern writer † allows, that if Virgil has not so many thoughts that are low and vulgar, he has not so many that are sublime and noble; and that the Roman author seldom rises into very astonishing sentiments where he is not fired by the *Iliad*.

If we observe his *descriptions*, *images*, and *similes*, we shall find the invention still predominant. To what else can we ascribe that vast comprehension of images of every sort,

* I was tolerably certain, as I recollected no specific declaration of this kind in Longinus, that it must be found in his 9th section. That I explored in vain; when, upon having recourse to Boileau, through whose version only it is highly probable Longinus was known to Pope, I perceived a gap in that section, to be thus smoothed and filled up by the French poet; “ Et c’est en cette
 “ partie qu’ a principalement excellé Homere, dont les pensées sont
 “ toutes sublimes.” And doubtless a perusal of Boileau’s translation and notes would lead to other discoveries of this kind.

† Probably Addison, but I am unable to point out the passage: from this topic, however, Quintilian derives this consolation in behalf of his countryman; book x. chap. 1. *Quantum eminentiori-*

where we see each circumstance of art *, and individual of nature summoned together, by the extent and fecundity of his imagination ; to which all things, in their various views, presented themselves in an instant, and had their impressions taken off to perfection, at a heat ? Nay, he not only gives us the full prospects of things, but several unexpected peculiarities and side-views, unobserved by any painter but Homer. Nothing is so surprizing as the descriptions of his battles, which take up no less than half the Iliad, and are supplied with so vast a variety of incidents, that no one bears a likeness to another ; such different kinds of deaths, that no two heroes are wounded in the same manner ; and such a profusion of noble ideas, that every battle rises above the last in greatness, horror, and confusion. It is certain there is not near that number of images and descriptions in any Epic Poet ; though every one has assisted himself with a great quantity out of him : and it is

bus vincimur, fortasse æqualitate pensamus : “ And, perhaps, Virgil
“ compensates his inferiority to Homer in the elevations of poetry,
“ by his evenness of excellence.”

* *Of art.* These words are not found in the first edition.

evident of Virgil especially, that he has scarce any comparisons which are not drawn from his master*.

If we descend from hence to the *expression*, we see the bright imagination of Homer shining out in the most enlivened forms of it. We acknowledge him the father of poetical diction, the first who taught that *language of the Gods* to men. His expression is like the colouring of some great masters, which discovers itself to be laid on boldly, and executed with rapidity. It is indeed the strongest and most glowing imaginable, and touched with the greatest spirit. Aristotle had reason to say, He was the only poet who had found out *living words*†; there are in him more daring

* This, however, is a consequence, unconnected with sterility of invention, and inevitably incident to succeeding writers. The face of Nature is much the same in every age and in every position: the more prominent and striking peculiarities uniformly present themselves to every observer, and become of course the property of the prior occupant. Editor.

† From what source our author drew this intelligence, I have not discovered. His informant might have in view Aristotle's rhetoric; iii. 11. where that philosopher expresses himself thus: "Homer, by a metaphor, often speaks of inanimate things as endued with life; and is very happy in that energy, which he displays by these means, on every occasion." Then, after

figures and metaphors than in any good author whatever. An arrow is *impatient* to be on the wing, a weapon *thirsts* to drink the blood of an enemy, and the like. Yet his expression is never too big for the sense, but justly great in proportion to it. It is the sentiment that swells and fills out the diction, which rises with it, and forms itself about it*: and in the same degree that a thought is warmer, an expression will be brighter; as that is more strong, this will become more perspicuous: like glass in the furnace, which grows to a greater magnitude and refines to a greater clearness, only as the breath within is more powerful, and the heat more intense.

various instances, such as “the arrow *flew*,” and, “the point *rust* *eagerly* through his breast;” he adds: “These expressions *owe* their energy to the *life* which is given them.”

After Aristotle, Horace has *vivas voces, living words*, in his Epistle to the Pisces, ver. 317.

* We are here furnished with a beautiful example of that ingenious manner, in which our poet prepares us for a *simile*, on the verge of introduction, by a gradual approximation of the phraseology to the circumstances of the *simile* itself: thus conducting his reader, as it were, through the gradual shades of twilight into the brightness of open day. See this elegant artifice sagaciously pointed out by Warburton, on ver. 253 of our poet's second Moral Epistle; and illustrated with a luminous comprehension, characteristic of that extraordinary genius.

To throw his language more out of prose, Homer seems to have affected the *compound-epithets* *. This was a sort of composition peculiarly proper to poetry, not only as it heightened the *diction*, but as it assisted and filled the *numbers* with greater sound and pomp, and likewise conduced in some measure to thicken the *images*. On this last consideration I cannot but attribute these also to the fruitfulness of his invention, since (as he has managed them) they are a sort of supernumerary pictures of the persons or things to which they are joined †. We see the motion of Hector's plumes in the epithet Κορυθαίολα, the landscape of Mount Neritus in that of Εἰνοσίφυλλα, and so of others ; which particular images could not have been insisted upon so long as to express them in a description

* Our own language is not much inferiour to the Greek in the facility and felicity of these combinations. Milton and Gray have exhibited some of the finest specimens of such *compound-epithets*.

† This conclusion was judiciously altered from the colloquial vulgarity of the first edition :—"The persons or things *they are joined to.*" In general, our author's prose composition is too loose and straggling, too much broken with diminutive and feeble words, not well connected and consolidated : it wants energy, concentration, and rotundity. Otherwise, his conceptions are clear, his diction appropriate, his figures numerous and splendid, amidst an unaffected purity of phrase, like constellations in a winter's sky. Editor.

(though but of a single line) without diverting the reader too much from the principal action or figure. As a Metaphor is a short simile, one of these Epithets is a short description.

Lastly, if we consider his *versification*, we shall be sensible what a share of praise is due to his invention in that also. He was not satisfied with his language as he found it settled in any one part of Greece, but searched through its differing *dialects* with this particular view, to beautify and perfect his numbers *: he considered these as they had a greater mixture of vowels or consonants, and accordingly employed them as the verse required either a greater smoothness or strength. What he most affected was the Ionic, which has a peculiar sweetness from its never using contractions, and from its custom of resolving the diphthongs into two syllables; so as to make the words open themselves with a more

* I should think this position extremely disputable. It seems more probable, that the tenour of Homer's phraseology is a very faithful representative of the vernacular language of his Ionians, which had acquired this variety and flexibility from the concurring dialects of the various tribes, who had stationed themselves in *Lesser Asia*.

spreading and sonorous fluency. With this he mingled the Attic contractions, the broader Doric, and the feebler Æolic, which often rejects its aspirate, or takes off its accent; and compleated this variety by altering some letters with the licence of poetry *. Thus his measures, instead of being fetters to his sense, were always in readiness to run along with the warmth of his rapture, and even to give a farther representation of his notions, in the correspondence of their sounds to what they signified. Out of all these he has derived that harmony, which makes us confess he had not only the richest head, but the finest ear in the world. This is so great a truth, that whoever will but consult the tune of his verses, even without understanding them † (with the same sort of diligence as we daily see practised in the case of Italian Operas) will

* It can scarcely be supposed, that Homer indulged any gratuitous suggestions of his own fancy, in issuing words not authenticated by the current stamp of circulation. Editor.

† There is no appeal upon this point from the competency of our poet's decision. He speaks the incontrovertible edict of experience on the present occasion, as will appear from my *Miscellaneous Observations*, and occasional notices to this effect in my notes on his translation. Editor.

find more sweetness, variety, and majesty of sound, than in any other language or poetry. The beauty of his numbers is allowed by the critics to be copied but faintly by Virgil himself, though they are so just to ascribe it to the nature of the Latin tongue *: indeed the Greek has some advantages both from the natural *sound* of its *words*, and the turn and *cadence* of its *Verse*, which agree with the genius of no other language. Virgil was very sensible of this, and used the utmost diligence in working up a more intractable language to whatsoever graces it was capable of; and in particular never failed to bring the sound of his line to a beautiful agreement

* Virgil owes but little obligation to his apologists on this score. The predominancy of vowels in Ionic poetry precludes all possible pretensions to competition, on the part of the Latin language, in a liquid mellifluence of numbers: but in pomp, and energy, and embellishment, and fulness, no poet of antiquity has exceeded Virgil; nor can any poet in any nation hope to exceed him to the end of time. I shall give the first specimen, that occurs to memory, in confirmation of this assertion:

Septem illum totos perhibent ex ordine menses,
 Rupe sub æriâ, deserti ad Strymonis undam,
 Flevisse; et gelidis hæc evolvisse sub astris,
 Mulcentem tigres, et agentem carmine quercus.

Georgics, iv. 507.

Editor.

with its sense. If the Grecian poet has not been so frequently celebrated on this account as the Roman, the only reason is, that fewer criticks have understood one language than the other. Dionysius of Halicarnassus has pointed out many of our author's beauties in this kind, in his treatise of the *Composition of Words* *, and others will be taken notice of in the course of my notes. It suffices at present to observe of his numbers, that they flow with so much ease, as to make one imagine Homer had no other care than to transcribe as fast as the Muses dictated; and at the same time with so much force and inspiriting vigour, that they awaken and raise us like the sound of a trumpet†. They roll along as a plentiful river, always in motion, and always full; while we are born away by a tide of verse, the most rapid, and yet the most smooth imaginable.

* See the 15th and 16th sections of that Treatise. Editor.

† Claudian employs this comparison in the true boldness of poetical enthusiasm, i. 198 :

Talem nulla refert antiquis pagina libris,

Nec *Latiae* cecinere *tubæ*, nec *Græca* vetustas. Editor.

THUS on whatever side we contemplate Homer, what principally strikes us is his *invention*. It is that which forms the character of each part of his work; and accordingly we find it to have made his fable more *extensive* and *copious* than any other, his manners more *lively* and *strongly marked*, his speeches more *affecting* and *transported**, his sentiments more *warm* and *sublime*, his images and descriptions more *full* and *animated*, his expression more *raised* and *daring*, and his numbers more *rapid* and *various*. I hope, in what has been said of Virgil, with regard to any of these heads, I have no way derogated from his character. Nothing is more absurd or endless, than the common method of comparing eminent writers by an opposition of particular passages in them, and forming a judgment from thence of their merit upon the whole. We ought to have a certain knowledge of the principal character and distinguishing excellence of each: it is in *that* we are to consider him, and in proportion

* He should have added, in conformity to his own remarks above on this point;—"more affecting, transported, and *personally* appropriate:" compare page 19. Editor.

to his degree in *that* we are to admire him. No author or man ever excelled all the world in more than one faculty, and as Homer has done this in *invention*, Virgil has in judgment. Not that we are to think Homer wanted judgment, because Virgil had it in a more eminent degree*; or that Virgil wanted invention, because Homer possessed a larger share of it: each of these great authors had more of both than perhaps any man besides†, and are only said to have less in comparison with one another. Homer was the greater genius, Virgil the better artist. In one we most admire the man, in the other

* In all these cases, the superiority may be *comparative* only, not *absolute*. Subsequent travellers must be expected to make their way with less deviation through a country, where the true path is already worn by the steps of their predecessors. Editor.

† This criticism favours more of traditionary cant, than manly rectitude of independent judgement. I regard Virgil myself as the most consummate of all poets; but his claim to invention is impotent indeed. He was an universal imitator. Had Greek literature come down to us unimpaired, we should have known more of his *dulcia furta*, his delicious depredations in that province; but there is no beautiful expression, and no fine cadence of a verse, in the remains of Ennius, Catullus, Lucretius, and Cicero, of which he has not availed himself in the most obvious and unreserved manner. Poetry would have exhibited the ultimatum of her powers, had Virgil lived to put his last hand to that fine edifice, which the proud severity of his judgement consigned to the flames. Editor.

the work. Homer hurries and transports us with a commanding impetuosity, Virgil leads us with an attractive majesty: Homer scatters with a generous profusion, Virgil bestows with a careful magnificence: Homer, like the Nile, pours out his riches with a boundless overflow*; Virgil, like a river in its banks, with a gentle and constant stream. When we behold their battles, methinks the two Poets resemble the Heroes they celebrate: Homer, boundless and irresistible as Achilles, bears all before him, and shines more and more as the tumult increases†; Virgil, calmly daring like

* He gave, in the first edition, “With a sudden overflow:” which suited Homer as well, but not the Nile; and was therefore judiciously supplanted for the present reading. Editor.

† Our poet had in view at this place what his author says of Diomed in the beginning of the *fifth* Iliad:

Δαίε οἱ ἐκ κορυθῆ τε καὶ ἀσπίδος ἀκαμάτον πυρ:

or rather a passage in Virgil, where that masterly artificer from this spark of his preceptor has kindled as grand a blaze of sublimity, as the breath of poetical inspiration ever raised, since the nativity of Genius:

Ipse inter primos præstanti corpore Turnus
Vertitur arma tenens, et toto vertice supra est:

Cui triplici crinita jubâ galea alta Chimæram
Sustinet, Ætnæos efflantem faucibus ignis.

Tam magis illa fremens et tristibus effera flammis,
Quam magis effuso crudescunt sanguine pugnæ.

Æneas, appears undisturbed in the midst of the action; disposes all about him*, and conquers with tranquillity. And when we look upon their machines, Homer seems like his own Jupiter in his terrors, shaking Olympus, scattering the lightnings, and firing the Heavens; Virgil, like the same power in his benevolence, counselling with the Gods, laying plans for

There is not, perhaps, such a daring imagination in all Homer. Milton, however, in a strong, but just and meritorious, confidence of his own powers, ventured on the contest, ("like a young warrior with one of established reputation," as Longinus expresses himself on Plato's competition for the palm of eloquence with Homer) and who shall pronounce the Victor?

Sat HORROR plum'd! on his crest

Par. Lost, iv. 988.

For the gratification of the English reader, I shall be presumptuous enough to offer my own translation of Virgil's verses; as Dryden seems feeble, and Pitt diffuse:

In size and grace o'er all the Martial train,
Shines Turnus in the van, and scours the plain.
High on his triple-crested helm, expire
CHIMÆRA's jaws incessant floods of fire:
War's crimson tide as slaughter'd heroes raise,
Fell and more fell her ire, fierce and more fierce the blaze!

* Addison's celebrated *simile* in his *Campaign*, too well known to need quotation, was probably present to our author's recollection at this place.

empires, and regularly ordering his whole creation*.

BUT after all, it is with great parts, as with great virtues, they naturally border on some

* This contrast of Homer and Virgil by our poet, that of Demosthenes and Cicero by Quintilian, and that of Dryden and Pope (constructed on those of his predecessors) by Dr. Johnson, particularly the latter, in fertility of thought, elegance of figure, energetic pregnancy of expression, and justness of application, may be ranked, in my opinion, among the noblest and most vigorous efforts of critical ingenuity.

The comparison, which Homer applies to Diomed, may be transferred with accurate appropriation to himself; *Iliad* v. 113:

Rapt through the ranks, he thunders o'er the plain;
Now here, now there, he darts from place to place,
Pours on the rear, or rushes in their face:
Thus from high hills the torrent, swift and strong,
Pours on the delug'd fields, and sweeps along:
Through ruin'd moles th' impetuous waves resound,
Burst the strong bridge, and whelm the lofty mound.
The yellow harvests of the ripen'd year,
And flatted vineyards, one sad waste appear!

which, with trivial alterations, is our poet's sublime version of the passage. Virgil may be fitly compared to his own Venus: his poetry is the splendour, the fragrance, the magnificence, and the stateliness, of a Divinity:

roseâ cervice refulsit,

Ambrosiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem

Spiravere; pedes vestis defluxit ad imos,

Et vera incessu patuit Dea.

imperfection*; and it is often hard to distinguish exactly where the virtue ends, or the fault begins. As prudence may sometimes sink to suspicion, so may a great judgment decline to coldness; and as magnanimity may run up to profusion or extravagance, so may a great invention to redundancy or wildness. If we look upon Homer in this view, we shall perceive the chief *objections* against him to proceed from so noble a cause as the excess of this faculty.

AMONG these we may reckon some of his *marvellous fictions*, upon which so much criticism has been spent, as surpassing all the bounds of probability. Perhaps it may be with great and superior souls, as with giantick bodies, which exerting themselves with unusual strength, exceed what is commonly thought the due proportion of parts, to become miracles in the whole; and like the old heroes

* Hence that remark of Horace, epist. i. 6. 15 :

Infani sapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,

Ultrâ quàm fatis est virtutem si petat ipsam.

But the maxim of both poets, I apprehend, to be fallacious, and grounded on a misuse of terms.

Editor.

of that make, commit something near extravagance, amidst a series of glorious and inimitable performances. Thus Homer has his *speaking horses*, and Virgil his *myrtles distilling blood*, where the latter has not so much as contrived the easy intervention of a Deity to save the probability.

IT is owing to the same vast invention, that his *Similes* have been thought too exuberant and full of circumstances. The force of this faculty is seen in nothing more, than in its inability to confine itself to that single circumstance upon which the comparison is grounded: it runs out into embellishments of additional images, which however are so managed as not to overpower the main one. His similes are like pictures, where the principal figure has not only its proportion given agreeable to the original, but is also set off with occasional ornaments and prospects. The same will account for his manner of heaping a number of comparisons together in one breath, when his fancy suggested to him at once so many various and correspondent images. The reader will easily

extend this observation to more objections of the same kind.

IF there are others which seem rather to charge him with a defect or narrowness of genius, than an excess of it; those seeming defects will be found upon examination to proceed wholly from the nature of the times he lived in. Such are his *grosser representations* of the *Gods*, and the vicious and *imperfect manners* of his *Heroes*, which will be treated of in the following * *Essay*: but I must here speak a word of the latter, as it is a point generally carried into extremes, both by the censurers and defenders of Homer. It must be a strange partiality to antiquity, to think with Madam Dacier “* that “ those times and manners are so much the “ more excellent, as they are contrary to ours.” Who can be so prejudiced in their favour as to magnify the felicity of those ages, when a spirit of revenge and cruelty; joined with the practice of Rapine and Robbery, reigned through the world; when no mercy was shown

* See the Articles of Theology and Morality, in the third part of the *Essay*.

† Preface to her *Homer*.

but for the sake of lucre, when the greatest Princes were put to the sword, and their wives and daughters made slaves and concubines? On the other side, I would not be so delicate as those modern criticks, who are shocked at the *servile offices* and mean employments in which we sometimes see the Heroes of Homer engaged. There is a pleasure in taking a view of that simplicity in opposition to the luxury of succeeding ages*, in beholding Monarchs without their guards, Princes tending their flocks, and Princesses drawing water from the springs. When we read Homer, we ought to reflect that we are reading the most ancient author in the heathen world; and those who consider him in this light, will double their pleasure in the perusal of him. Let them think they are growing acquainted with nations and people that are now no more; that

* After this explicit declaration, on which he has elsewhere insisted also, and with this rectitude of judgement, it is the more surprising, that he should have taken so much pains in the course of his translation, as I have occasionally noticed, to efface these traces of simplicity in his author, and to obscure the distinct lineaments of antient manners by the varnish of adventitious embellishment and modernised phraseology.

they are stepping almost three thousand years back into the remotest Antiquity, and entertaining themselves with a clear and surprising vision of things no where else to be found, the only true mirror* of that ancient world. By this means alone their greatest obstacles will vanish; and what usually creates their dislike, will become a satisfaction.

THIS consideration may farther serve to answer for the constant use of the same *epithets* to his Gods and Heroes, such as the *far-darting* Phœbus, the *blue-eyed* Pallas, the *swift-footed* Achilles, &c. which some have censured as impertinent and tediously repeated†. Those of the Gods depended upon the powers and offices then believed to belong to them, and had contracted a weight and veneration from the rites and solemn devotions in which they were used: they were a sort of attributes

* An improvement on the comparison of the first edition:—
 “and the only *authentick picture* of that ancient world.”

† These standing epithets may be regarded not absurdly as modern Christian names; the repetition of which, with a view to more effectual discrimination, excites no disgust. And so, I see, our poet presently, from Boileau. Editor.

with which it was a matter of religion to salute them on all occasions, and which it was an irreverence to omit *. As for the epithets of great men, Monf. Boileau is of opinion, that they were in the nature of *Surnames*, and repeated as such; for the Greeks having no names derived from their fathers, were obliged † to add some other distinction of each person; either naming his parents expressly, or his place of birth, profession, or the like: as Alexander the son of Philip, Herodotus of Halicarnassus, Diogenes the Cynic, &c. Homer therefore complying with the custom of his country, used such distinctive additions as better agreed with poetry. And indeed we have something parallel to these in modern times, such as the names of Harold Harefoot, Edmund Ironside, Edward Long-shanks, Edward the Black Prince, &c. If yet this be thought

* The former clause of this sentence is altered for the better from the first edition, and the latter for the worse by an interpolation of useless words. It stood thus originally: "They were a sort of Attributes *that* it was a matter of religion to salute them with on all occasions, and an irreverence to omit."

† After this word, in the first edition, followed the clause, "when they mentioned any one."

to account better for the propriety than for the repetition, I shall add a farther conjecture. Hesiod dividing the world into its different ages, has placed a fourth age between the brazen and the iron one, of *Heroes distinct from other men: a divine race, who fought at Thebes and Troy, are called Demi-gods, and live by the care of Jupiter in the islands of the blessed* *. Now among the divine honours which were paid them, they might have this also in common with the Gods, not to be mentioned without the solemnity of an epithet, and such as might be acceptable to them by its celebrating their families, actions, or qualities.

WHAT other cavils have been raised against Homer, are such as hardly deserve a reply, but will yet be taken notice of as they occur in the course of the work. Many have been occasioned by an injudicious endeavour to exalt Virgil; which is much the same, as if one should think to raise the superstructure by undermining the foundation: one would ima-

* Hesiod, *lib. 1. ver. 155, &c.*

gine by the whole course of their parallels, that these criticks never so much as heard of Homer's having written first; a consideration which whoever compares these two Poets, ought to have always in his eye*. Some accuse him for the same things which they overlook or praise in the other; as when they prefer the fable and moral of the *Æneis* to those of the *Iliad*, for the same reasons which might set the *Odysses* above the *Æneis*: as that the hero is a wiser man; and the action of the one more beneficial to his country than that of the other: or else they blame him for not doing what he never designed; as because Achilles is not so good and perfect a

* An observation no less obvious than just; and it is remarkable, that he should not have employed it on the numerous occasions of comparison between passages of Homer and Virgil, which are specified in his notes on the *Iliad* and *Odysses*, where the sentence is either suspended, or the preference conceded to the Roman poet. Quintilian was perfectly sensible of the efficacy of this topic; and, in his customary candour, prefaces his competition of Cicero and Demosthenes with this equitable qualification in behalf of the Græcian orator: *Cedendum vero in hoc quidem quod et ille prior fuit, et ex magnâ parte Ciceronem, quantus est, fecit.* “We must yield, “however, in this respect: Demosthenes was not only prior in “time, but contributed essentially to make Cicero the great man “he was.”

prince as Æneas, when the very moral of his poem required a contrary character: it is thus that Rapin judges in his comparifon of Homer and Virgil. Others felect thofe particular paffages of Homer, which are not fo laboured as fome that Virgil drew out of them: this is the whole management of Scaliger in his Poetices. Others quarrel with what they take for low and mean expreffions, fometimes through a falfe delicacy and refinement, oftner from an ignorance of the graces of the original; and then triumph in the aukwardnefs of their own tranflations; this is the conduct of Perault in his Parallels. Laftly, there are others, who pretending to a fairer proceeding, diftinguifh between the perfonal merit of Homer, and that of his *work*; but when they come to affign the caufes of the great reputation of the Iliad, they found it upon the ignorance of his times, and the prejudice of thofe that followed: and in purfuanee of this principle, they make thofe accidents (fuch as the contention of the cities, &c.) to be the caufes of his fame, which were in reality the confequences of his merit. The fame might as well be faid of Virgil, or any great author, whofe general

character will infallibly raise many casual additions to their reputation. This is the method of *Monf. de la Motte*; who yet confesses upon the whole, that in whatever age Homer had lived, he must have been the greatest poet of his nation, and that he may be said in this sense * to be the master even of those who surpassed him.

IN all these objections we see nothing that contradicts his title to the honour of the chief *Invention*; and as long as this (which is indeed the characteristic of Poetry itself) remains unequalled by his followers, he still continues superior to them. A cooler judgment may commit fewer faults, and be more approved in the eyes of *one sort* of Criticks; but that warmth of fancy will carry the loudest and most universal † applauses, which holds the

* That is, “ Under the consideration of what he was in his
“ own age, and what he would have been in any other:” if I
rightly discern our author’s meaning through the haziness of his
expression. Editor.

† In this expression, *most universal*, we see an error of composition, extremely frequent in our most approved modern authors also; that of connecting words significant of gradation and comparison with terms by their very nature unsusceptible of aggravation or diminution.

heart of a reader under the strongest enchantment. Homer not only appears the Inventor of poetry, but excels all the inventors of other arts in this, that he has swallowed up the honour of those who succeeded him. What he has done admitted no increase, it only left room for contraction or regulation. He shewed all the stretch of fancy at once; and if he has failed in some of his flights, it was but because he attempted every thing. A work of this kind seems like a mighty Tree which rises from the most vigorous seed, is improved with industry, flourishes, and produces the finest fruit; nature and art conspire * to raise it; pleasure and profit join to make it valuable: and they who find the justest faults, have only said, that a few branches (which run luxuriant through a richness of nature) might be lopped into form to give it a more regular appearance.

HAVING now spoken of the beauties and defects of the original, it remains to treat of the translation, with the same view to

* In the first edition, *have conspired, and joined.*

the chief characteristic. As far as *that* is seen in the main parts of the Poem, such as the fable, manners, and sentiments, no translator can prejudice it but by wilful omissions or contractions. As it also breaks out in every particular image, description and simile; whoever lessens or too much softens those, takes off from this chief character. It is the first grand duty of an interpreter to give his author entire and unmaimed; and for the rest, the diction and versification only are his proper province; since these must be his own, but the others he is to take as he finds them.

It should then be considered what methods may afford some equivalent in our language for the graces of these in the Greek. It is certain no literal translation can be just to an excellent original in a superior language: but it is a great mistake to imagine (as many have done) that a rash paraphrase can make amends for this general defect; which is no less in danger to lose the spirit of an ancient, by deviating into the modern manners of expression. If there be sometimes a darkness, there is often a light in antiquity, which nothing better preserves

than a version almost literal. I know no liberties one ought to take, but those which are necessary for transfusing the spirit of the original, and supporting the poetical style of the translation: and I will venture to say, there have not been more men misled in former times by a fervile dull adherence to the letter, than have been deluded in ours by a chimerical insolent hope of raising and improving their author. It is not to be doubted that the *fire* of the poem is what a translator should principally regard, as it is most likely to expire in his managing: however, it is his safest way to be content with preserving this to the utmost in the whole, without endeavouring to be more than he finds his author is, in any particular place. It is a great secret in writing to know when to be plain, and when poetical and figurative; and it is what Homer will teach us, if we will but follow modestly in his footsteps. Where his diction is bold and lofty, let us raise ours as high as we can*; but where

* Roscommon, in his Essay on translated verse:

Your author always will the best advise:

Fall, when he falls; and, when he rises, rise.

Editor.

his is plain and humble, we ought not to be deterred from imitating him by the fear of incurring the censure of a mere *English* Critick. Nothing that belongs to Homer seems to have been more commonly mistaken than the just pitch of his style: some of his translators having swelled into fustian in a proud confidence of the *sublime*; others sunk into flatness in a cold and timorous notion of *simplicity*. Methinks I see these different followers of Homer, some sweating and straining after him by violent leaps and bounds (the certain signs of false mettle) others slowly and fervilely creeping in his train, while the Poet himself is all the time proceeding with an unaffected and equal majesty before them. However, of the two extreams one could sooner pardon frenzy than frigidity: no author is to be envied for such commendations as he may gain by that character of style, which his friends must agree together to call *simplicity*, and the rest of the world will call *dulness*. There is a graceful and dignified simplicity, as well as a bald and sordid one, which differ as much from each

other as the air of a plain man from that of a floven: it is one thing to be tricked up, and another not to be dressed at all. Simplicity is the mean between ostentation and rusticity.

THIS pure and noble simplicity is no where in such perfection as in the *Scripture* and our Author. One may affirm, with all respect to the inspired writings, that the *divine Spirit* made use of no other words but what were intelligible and common to men at that time, and in that part of the world; and as Homer is the author nearest to those, his style must of course bear a greater resemblance to the sacred books than that of any other writer. This consideration (together with what has been observed of the parity of some of his thoughts) may methinks induce a translator on the one hand to give into several of those general phrases and manners of expression, which have attained a veneration even in our language from being used in the *Old Testament**;

* A happy instance, I think, of this adoption of scriptural language occurs in *Odyssæy* xiv. 185 :

as on the other, to avoid those which have been appropriated to the Divinity, and in a manner consigned to mystery and religion.

FOR a farther preservation of this air of simplicity, a particular care should be taken to express with all plainness those *moral sentences* and *proverbial speeches* which are so numerous in this Poet. They have something venerable, and as I may say oracular, in that unadorned gravity and shortness with which they are delivered: a grace which would be utterly lost by endeavouring to give them what we call a more ingenious (that is, a more modern) turn in the paraphrase.

PERHAPS the mixture of some *Græcisms* and old words after the manner of Milton, if done without too much affectation, might not have an ill effect in a version of this particular work, which most of any other seems to require a

And witness every household Pow'r, that waits
Guard of these fires, and *angel* of these gates!

His original says only,

Ulysses' hearth, and hospitable board!

Editor.

venerable antique cast*. But certainly the use of modern terms of war and government, such as *platoon*, *campaign*, *junto*, or the like (into which some of his translators have fallen) cannot be allowable†; those only excepted, without which it is impossible to treat the subjects in any living language‡.

There are two peculiarities in Homer's diction which are a sort of *marks* or *moles*, by which every common eye distinguishes him at first sight: those who are not his greatest admirers

* Fenton, in particular, throughout his translation of four books in the *Odyssey*, has studiously adopted on every possible opportunity the Miltonian phrase; and in very many instances with great felicity. The reader will find every example, that my recollection could then trace to it's source, pointed out in the notes. Editor.

† Ogilby, who is very injudicious in this respect, and grossly destitute of taste in his employment of coarse undignified expressions of this nature, seems principally intended here. Editor.

‡ As in the case of appropriate terms, descriptive of a practice unknown to the country of the translator: for which terms, therefore, no representatives can be found in his language. For instance, in *Iliad* xviii. 566. we find the phrase *τρυνγομεν αλωνη** which we must either be content to render, "When they *reap* the vineyard," thus borrowing a term from a kindred employment; or must represent by an equivalent pariphrasis; or pass unnoticed, as our translator has done on this particular occasion. Editor.

look upon them as defects, and those who are, seem pleased with them as beauties. I speak of his *compound epithets*, and of his *repetitions*. Many of the former cannot be done literally into the English without destroying the purity of our language*. I believe such should be retained as slide easily of themselves into an English compound, without violence to the ear or to the received rules of composition; as well as those which have received a sanction from the authority of our best Poets, and are become familiar through their use of them; such as the *cloud-compelling Jove*, &c. As for the rest, whenever any can be as fully and significantly expressed in a single word as in a compounded one, the course to be taken is obvious.

SOME that cannot be so turned as to preserve their full image by one or two words, may have justice done them by circumlocution; as the epithet εἰνοσίφυλλος to a mountain, would appear little or ridiculous translated literally

* The number of these would be found, I believe, upon experiment to be extremely small. Editor.

*leaf-shaking**, but affords a majestic idea in the *pariphrasis*:

The lofty mountain shakes his waving woods.

Others that admit of differing significations, may receive an advantage by a judicious variation according to the occasions on which they are introduced†. For example, the epithet of Apollo, ἐκτετόλκες, or *far-shooting*, is capable of two explications; one literal in respect of the darts and bow, the ensigns of that God; the other allegorical with regard to the rays of the sun: therefore in such places where Apollo is represented as a God in person, I would use the former interpretation, and where the effects

* For what reason? Not from the incapacity of our language, but because the word *shake* is trivial, and void of elevation. Substitute *leaf-waving*, and I descry nothing in the Greek compound that is not adequately exhibited in the English: whereas in the paraphrastic verse, independently of immoderate diffusion, we are offended by tautology: for surely it is superfluous to inform us, that the woods of a *shaking* mountain *wave*: the connection is inevitable. Editor.

† One of the happiest instances of this sort, and which, indeed, appears to my taste inimitably beautiful, is Fenton's variation of the permanent epithet of Minerva, *azure* or *blue-eyed*, in *Odyssey* i. 407.

Defer the promis'd boon, the Goddess cries;

Celestial azure brightening in her eyes,

Editor.

of the sun are described, I would make choice of the latter*. Upon the whole, it will be necessary to avoid that perpetual repetition of the same epithets which we find in Homer, and which, though it might be accommodated (as has been already shewn) to the ear of those times, is by no means so to ours: but one may wait for opportunities of placing them, where they derive an additional beauty from the occasions on which they are employed; and in doing this properly, a translator may at once shew his fancy and his judgment†.

As for Homer's *Repetitions*, we may divide them into three sorts; of whole narrations and speeches, of single sentences, and of one verse

* The latitude of translation here asserted seems reasonable and judicious: but the *necessity* of variation, on which our poet immediately contends, I should not so readily concede; as, perhaps, to the generality of readers an undisguised display of Homer in his proper form would equal the satisfaction resulting from an attempt to prevent satiety by change of phrase. Editor.

† Take another instance of Fenton's ingenuity in diversifying the same epithets in verse 56, of the same book of the *Odyssæy*:

Here paus'd the god; and pensive thus replies

Minerva, *graceful with her azure eyes.*

Editor.

or hemistich. I hope it is not impossible to have such a regard to these, as neither to lose so known a mark of the author on the one hand, nor to offend the reader too much on the other. The repetition is not ungraceful in those speeches where the dignity of the speaker renders it a sort of insolence to alter his words; as in the messages from Gods to men, or from higher powers to inferiors in concerns of state, or where the ceremonial of religion seems to require it, in the solemn forms of prayers, oaths, or the like. In other cases, I believe the best rule is, to be guided by the nearness, or distance, at which the repetitions are placed in the original: when they follow too close, one may vary the expression, but it is a question whether a professed translator be authorized to omit any: if they be tedious, the author is to answer for it*.

It only remains to speak of the *Verseification*. Homer (as has been said) is perpetually

* Our poet has adhered to these judicious rules, imposed on himself, with a laudable fidelity. He has varied the expression with great taste in numerous examples, without any entire omissions of those repetitions of his author, alluded to in this passage. Editor.

applying the sound to the sense*, and varying it on every new subject. This is indeed one of the most exquisite beauties of poetry, and attainable by very few: I know only Homer eminent for it in the Greek, and Virgil in Latin. I am sensible it is what may sometimes happen by chance, when a writer is warm, and fully possessed of his image: however it may be reasonably believed they designed this, in whose verse it so manifestly appears in a superior degree to all others. Few readers have the ear to be judges of it; but those who have, will see I have endeavoured at this beauty.

UPON the whole, I must confess myself utterly incapable of doing justice to Homer†. I attempt him in no other hope but that which one may entertain without much vanity, of

* See our poet's precept on this point, and his concomitant illustration of it in his essay on Criticism, ver. 364—374.

† No man, who was at all sensible of the pre-eminence of his own powers, and not disposed to disparage them from an affectation of false humility, could express himself with a more becoming modesty on every occasion, with respect to his own attainments, than our admirable author; or shew a more ingenuous alacrity in giving due honour to real and distinguished desert. Editor.

giving a more tolerable copy of him than any entire translation in verse has yet done. We have only those of Chapman, Hobbes, and Ogilby*. Chapman has taken the advantage of an immeasurable length of verse†, notwithstanding which, there is scarce any paraphrase more loose and rambling than his. He has frequent interpolations of four or six lines, and I remember one in the thirteenth book of the *Odysses*, verse 312. where he has spun twenty verses out of two. He is often mistaken in so bold a manner, that one might think he deviated on purpose, if he did not in other places of his notes insist so much upon verbal trifles. He appears to have had a strong affectation of extracting new meanings out of his author, insomuch as to promise, in his rhyming preface, a poem of the mysteries

* He probably had never heard of Hall, mentioned in my notes on *Iliad* iii. 476. who, however, falls not in with the purport of this passage, relative to *entire* translations of Homer. He intended a compliment to Dryden. Editor.

† This objection is not applicable, unless it could be shewn at the same time, that one long verse of the translator represented no more than a shorter verse of his author. It is most true, however, that Chapman is very rambling and paraphrastical. Editor.

he had revealed in Homer: and perhaps he endeavoured to strain the obvious sense to this end. His expression is involved in fustian, a fault for which he was remarkable in his original writings, as in the tragedy of *Buffy d'Amboise*, &c. In a word, the nature of the man may account for his whole performance; for he appears from his preface and remarks to have been of an arrogant turn, and an enthusiast in poetry. His own boast of having finished half the *Iliad* in less than fifteen weeks, shews with what negligence his version was performed. But that which is to be allowed him, and which very much contributed to cover his defects, is a daring fiery spirit that animates his translation, which is something like what one might imagine Homer himself would have writ before he arrived at years of discretion*.

HOBBS has given us a correct explanation of the sense in general, but for particulars and

* This character of Chapman, according to my own conception of him from a perusal of his translation, which the execution of my engagement imposed on me, is unexceptionably accurate and candid.

circumstances he continually lops them, and often omits the most beautiful. As for its being esteemed a close translation, I doubt not many have been led into that error by the shortness of it, which proceeds not from his following the original line by line, but from the contractions abovementioned. He sometimes omits whole similes and sentences, and is now and then guilty of mistakes, into which no writer of his learning could have fallen, but through carelessness*. His poetry, as well as Ogilby's, is too mean for criticism.

IT is a great loss to the poetical world that Mr. Dryden did not live to translate the Iliad†.

* There is no less justice and precision in this estimate of Hobbes' merits as a translator. Ogilby, I think, is too much undervalued; and in a way, perhaps, not sufficiently ingenuous in one, who certainly owed him some obligations, as the course of my notes will, I believe, sufficiently demonstrate to every reader. Editor.

† Our poet, in relation to Dryden, was actuated on all other occasions by a noble magnanimity; and on this, by an amiable weakness. Dryden's version of the first Iliad has, in my estimation, but a scanty portion of poetical beauty to recommend it; and is, perhaps, the most profane of all his performances. He is perpetually straining, or misrepresenting, his author, with the express purpose of

He has left us only the first book, and a small part of the sixth; in which if he has in some places not truly interpreted the sense, or preserved the antiquities, it ought to be excused on account of the haste he was obliged to write in*. He seems to have had too much regard to Chapman, whose words he sometimes copies, and has unhappily followed him in passages where he wanders from the original†.

reviling religion, and ridiculing the professors of it. Thus, speaking of Chryses, not far from the beginning:

Silent he fled; secure at length he stood,
Devoutly curs'd his foes, and thus invok'd his god.

Again, among many other instances:

The first libations to the gods they pour;
 And then with songs indulge the genial hour;
Holy debauch!

Not to mention some passages of the coarsest indelicacy. Editor.

* He alludes to the necessitous circumstances of his master in another place also, with great generosity and tenderness:

To Dryden who all Pindus could refuse,
 If Heaven had smil'd propitious as his Muse? Editor.

† Who can forbear smiling at this censure, so precisely descriptive of him, who passes it; as my notes will abundantly demonstrate? Editor.

“ With Chapman—he had very frequent consultations; and perhaps never translated any passage, till he had read his version; “ which indeed he has been sometimes suspected of using instead “ of the original:” is the indistinct, and apparently conjectural, statement of Dr. Johnson in his life of Pope.

However, had he translated the whole work, I would no more have attempted Homer after him than Virgil, his version of whom (notwithstanding some human errors*) is the most noble and spirited translation I know in any language. But the fate of great geniuses is like that of great ministers, though they are confessedly the first in the commonwealth of letters, they must be envied and calumniated only for being at the head of it.

That which in my opinion ought to be the endeavour of any one who translates Homer, is above all things to keep alive that spirit and fire which makes his chief character: in particular places, where the sense can bear any doubt, to follow the strongest and most poetical, as most agreeing with that character; to copy him in all the variations of his style, and the

* In allusion to the well known passage in Horace's art of poetry :

Non ego paucis

Offendar *maculis*, quas aut incuria fudit,

Aut *humana* parùm cavit *Natura*.

I would not quarrel with a slight mistake,

Such as our Nature's frailty may excuse. Roscommon.

Editor.

different modulations of his numbers; to preserve, in the more active or descriptive parts, a warmth and elevation; in the more sedate or narrative, a plainness and solemnity; in the speeches, a fulness and perspicuity; in the sentences, a shortness and gravity: not to neglect even the little figures and turns on the words, nor sometimes the very cast of the periods; neither to omit nor confound any rites or customs of antiquity: perhaps too he ought to include the whole in a shorter compass, than has hitherto been done by any translator, who has tolerably preserved either the sense or poetry. What I would farther recommend to him, is to study his author rather from his own text*, than from any commentaries, how learned soever, or whatever figure they may make in the estimation of the world; to consider him attentively in comparison with Virgil above all the ancients,

* It is much to be lamented, that our poet was not able to follow the direction so properly recommended by himself. His ignorance of the Greek language will be indisputably proved in the course of this edition: an ignorance, which throws an imputation of solemn inanity and ludicrous ostentation on the precept before us.
Editor.

and with Milton above all the moderns*. Next these, the Archbishop of Cambray's *Tele-machus* may give him the truest idea of the spirit and turn of our author, and Bossu's admirable treatise of the Epic poem the justest notion of his design and conduct. But after all, with whatever judgment and study a man may proceed, or with whatever happiness he may perform such a work, he must hope to please but a few†; those only who have at once a taste of poetry, and competent learning. For to satisfy such as want either, is not in the nature of this undertaking; since a mere modern wit can like nothing that is not

* There seems no remarkable propriety in this direction with respect to Milton, except with a general reference to his stricter observation of the leading rules for the conduct of an epic poem in conformity to the prescriptions of Aristotle, deduced from Homer's exemplification of them in the *Iliad*. With regard to Virgil, comparison is more obvious, as well in the main plan of his *Æneis*, as in his perpetual imitations of detached portions and similes of his illustrious predecessor. Editor.

† So Horace, Sat. i. 10. 73 :

—— neque, te ut miretur turba, labores,
Contentus paucis lectoribus.

Th' applauses court not of the vulgar crew,
Pleas'd with the praise of a discerning few.

Editor.

modern, and a pedant nothing that is not *Greek*.

What I have done is submitted to the publick, from whose opinions I am prepared to learn; though I fear no judges so little as our best poets, who are most sensible of the weight of this task. As for the worst, whatever they shall please to say, they may give me some concern as they are unhappy men*, but none as they are malignant writers. I was guided in this translation by judgments very different from theirs, and by persons for whom they can have no kindness, if an old observation be true, that the strongest antipathy in the world is that of fools to men of wit. Mr. Addison was the first whose advice determined me to undertake this task, who was pleased to write to me upon that occasion in such terms, as I cannot repeat without vanity. I was obliged to Sir Richard Steele for a very early recommendation of my undertaking to the publick. Dr. Swift promoted my interest with

* *Unhappy*, from the torments of envy and unfriendly passions.

that warmth with which he always serves his friend. The humanity and frankness of Sir Samuel Garth are what I never knew wanting on any occasion. I must also acknowledge, with infinite pleasure, the many friendly offices, as well as sincere criticisms of Mr. Congreve *, who had led me the way in translating some parts of Homer †. I must add the names of Mr. Rowe and Dr. Parnell, though I shall take a farther opportunity of

* He has brought this triumvirate together again in a couplet superlatively excellent, and of diction most happily appropriate :

Well-natur'd *Garth* inflam'd with early praise,
And *Congreve* lov'd, and *Swift* endur'd my lays.

Prologue to the Satires.

How admirably does the word *endured* point out the severe and fastidious censure, the *superbissimum judicium*, of Swift! Editor.

† The following sentence is added in the first edition, and in the last with Dr. Johnson's lives :—" As I wish for the sake of the world he had prevented me in the rest." The cooler judgement of our poet, I presume, under a commendable persuasion of his own vast superiority as a translator, of which it was impossible for him to be unconscious, led him to disapprove an ebullition of compliment, excited by the warmth of friendship and an unreflecting humility, in opposition to the truth. He had too much good sense and magnanimity to incur one *real* immorality to avoid the *appearance* of another ; to be insincere, for the temporary and unmanly purpose of propitiating calumny by an affected candour. Editor.

doing justice to the last, whose good-nature (to give it a great panegyrick) is no less extensive than his learning. The favour of these gentlemen is not entirely undeserved by one who bears them so true an affection *. But what can I say of the honour so many of the *Great* have done me, while the *first names* of the age appear as my subscribers, and the most distinguished patrons and ornaments of learning as my chief encouragers. Among these it is a particular pleasure to me to find, that my highest obligations are to such who have done most honour to the name of Poet: that his Grace the Duke of Buckingham was not displeased I should undertake the author to whom he has given (in his excellent *Essay*) so complete a praise †.

* The truth of this profession of affectionate regard is manifested by his friendly duties to Rowe and Parnell, when retribution was impossible, and his praise beyond suspicion :

Can Flattery soothe the dull cold ear of death ?

He condescended to be editor of Parnell's works, and wrote an epitaph for Rowe, that breathes a spirit of the tenderest affection. Editor.

† In the first edition :—“ *the finest praise he ever yet received.*” But these sacrificial offerings of panegyric, so difficult to adjust

Read *Homer once*, and you can read no more ;
 For all Books else appear so mean, so poor,
 Verse will seem Prose : but still persist to read,
 And *Homer* will be all the Books you need.

That the Earl of Halifax was one of the first to favour me, of whom it is hard to say whether the advancement of the polite arts is more owing to his generosity or his example *.

between the contending claims of Truth and Obligation, are liable to much curtailment and qualification, when the first fervours of devotion have subsided, and the clouds of incense suffer the light of calm conviction to be transmitted to our eyes. Editor.

* It will amuse the reader to hear from Spence a somewhat different judgement from our author on the critical discernment of this noble person.

“ The famous Lord Halifax was rather a pretender to taste,
 “ than really possessed of it. When I had finished the two or three
 “ first books of my translation of the *Iliad*, that Lord desired to
 “ have the pleasure of hearing them read at his house. Addison,
 “ Congreve, and Garth, were there at the reading. In four or
 “ five places, Lord Halifax stopt me very civilly, and with a speech
 “ each time, much of the same kind,” ‘ I beg your pardon, Mr.
 “ Pope, but there is something in that passage that does not quite
 “ please me. Be so good as to mark the place, and consider it a
 “ little at your leisure. I’m sure you can give it a little turn.’
 “ I returned from Lord Halifax’s with Dr. Garth, in his chariot ;
 “ and, as we were going along, was saying to the Doctor, that
 “ my Lord had laid me under a good deal of difficulty by such
 “ loose and general observation : that I had been thinking over the
 “ passages almost ever since, and could not guess at what it was
 “ that offended his lordship in either of them. Garth laughed
 “ heartily at my embarrassment ; said, I had not been long enough

That such a Genius as my Lord Bolingbroke, not more distinguished in the great scenes of business, than in all the useful and entertaining parts of learning, has not refused to be the critick of these sheets, and the patron of their writer. And that the noble author* of the Tragedy of *Heroic Love*, has continued his partiality to me, from my writing Pastorals, to my attempting the *Iliad*†. I cannot deny

“ acquainted with Lord Halifax to know his way yet ; that I need
 “ not puzzle myself about looking those places over and over,
 “ when I got home.” ‘ All you need do, says he, is to leave
 ‘ them just as they are ; call on Lord Halifax two or three months
 ‘ hence, thank him for his kind observations on those passages,
 ‘ and then read them to him as altered.’ I followed his advice ;
 “ waited on Lord Halifax some time after ; said, ‘ I hoped he
 ‘ would find his objections to those passages removed ;’ “ read them
 “ to him exactly as they were at first : and his lordship was
 “ extremely pleased with them, and cried out, *Ay now they are*
 “ *perfectly right : nothing can be better.*”

* Here also an original compliment is rescinded. The passage stood thus in the first edition : “ And that *so excellent an imitator of*
 “ *Homer as the noble author of the tragedy of Heroic Love.*”

The nobleman here intended was George Granville, Lord Landstown. Editor.

† To this early patronage our poet alludes in his Prologue to the Satires :

Granville the polite,
 And knowing Walth, would tell me I could write.

myself the pride of confessing, that I have had the advantage not only of their advice for the conduct in general, but their correction of several particulars of this translation.

I could say a great deal of the pleasure of being distinguished by the Earl of Carnarvon, but it is almost absurd to particularize any one generous action in a person whose whole life is a continued series of them. Mr. Stanhope*, the present Secretary of State, will pardon my desire of having it known that he was pleased to promote this affair. The particular zeal of Mr. Harcourt† (the son of the late Lord Chancellor) gave me a proof how much I am honoured in a share of his friendship. I must attribute to the same motive that of several others of my friends, to whom all acknowledgments are rendered unnecessary by the privileges of a familiar correspondence: and I am

* He was grandson to the first Earl of Chesterfield by a second wife, and uncle to the father of the celebrated Earl of our times. See Maty's Memoirs. Editor.

† To whose memory our poet afterwards wrote an elegant and pathetic epitaph.

satisfied I can no way better oblige men of their turn, than by my silence.

IN short, I have found more patrons than ever Homer wanted *. He would have thought himself happy to have met the same favour at Athens, that has been shewn me by its learned Rival, the University of Oxford. And I can hardly envy him those pompous honours he received after death, when I reflect on the enjoyment of so many agreeable obligations, and easy friendships, which make the satisfaction of life. This distinction is the more to be acknowledged, as it is shewn to one whose pen has never gratified the prejudices of particular *parties*, or the vanities of particular *men* †. Whatever the success may

* Alluding, I presume, as well to the moderate wants of a wandering bard, as to the frugal simplicity of ancient times. Editor.

† Even that parsimonious dispenser of praise and austere judge of merit, Dr. Johnson, bears ample testimony to our poet on this head, in his phrase of unrivalled energy and comprehension :

“ His effusions were always voluntary, and his subjects chosen
 “ by himself. He never exchanged praise for money, nor opened a
 “ shop of condolence or congratulation. He suffered coronations
 “ and royal marriages to pass without a song; and derived no

prove, I shall never repent of an undertaking in which I have experienced the candour and friendship of so many persons of merit ; and in which I hope to pass * some of those years of youth that are generally lost in a circle of follies, after a manner neither wholly unuseful to others, nor disagreeable to myself.

“ opportunities from recent events, or popularity from the accidental
“ disposition of his readers.” Editor.

* This part of the preface, therefore, must have been written
before the completion of his translation. Editor.

† Even that posthumous dissent of praise and austere judge
of merit, Dr. Johnson, bears ample testimony to our poet on this
head, in his praise of universal energy and comprehension :
“ His effusions were always voluntary, and his subjects chosen
“ by himself. He never exchanged praise for money, nor opened a
“ shop of condolence or congratulation. He suffered coronations
“ and royal marriages to pass without a song, and derived no



AN

Barlow sculp.

ESSAY

ON THE

LIFE, WRITINGS AND LEARNING

OF

HOMER.

THERE is something in the mind of man, which goes beyond bare curiosity, and even carries us on to a shadow of friendship with those great geniuses whom we have known to excel in former ages. Nor will it appear less to any one, who considers how much it partakes of the nature of friendship; how it compounds itself of an admiration raised by what we meet with concerning them; a tendency to be farther acquainted with them,

by getting every circumstance of their lives ; a kind of complacency in their company, when we retire to enjoy what they have left ; an union with them in those sentiments they approve ; and an endeavour to defend them when we think they are injuriously attacked, or* even sometimes with too partial an affection.

THERE is also in mankind a spirit of envy or opposition, which makes them uneasy to see others of the same species seated far above them in a sort of perfection. And this, at least, so far as regards the fame of writers † has not always been known to die with a man, but to pursue his remains with idle traditions, and weak conjectures ; so that his name, which is not to be forgotten, shall be preserved only to be stained and blotted. The controversy, which was carried on between the author and his enemies, while he was living, shall still be kept on foot ; not entirely upon his own account, but on theirs who live after him ; some being fond to praise extravagantly, and others as rashly eager to contradict his

* This use of *or* is very peculiar, correspondent to it's redundancy in the phrase *or e'er* ; when modern writers omit it. Editor.

† In the first edition :—“ so far as *we speak of* the fame of writers, has not always been known to die with a man *entirely*, but—.”

admirers. This proceeding, on both sides, gives us an image of the first descriptions of war, such as the Iliad affords ; where a hero disputes the field with an army 'till it is his time to die, and then the battle, which we expected to fall of course, is renewed about the body ; his friends contending that they may embalm and honour it, his enemies that they may cast it to the dogs and vultures *.

THERE are yet others of a low kind of taste, who, without any malignity to the character of a great author, lessen the dignity of their subject by insisting too meanly upon little particularities. They imagine it the part of an historian to omit nothing they meet with, concerning him ; and gather every thing without any distinction †, to the prejudice or neglect of the more noble parts of his character : like those trifling painters, or sculptors, who bestow infinite pains and patience upon the most insignificant parts of a figure ‡, till

* This illustration from his author is extremely apt and ingenious.

† In the first edition :— “ concerning him *whom they write upon*, gather every thing *wherein he is named*, without any distinction—.”

‡ As the artist in Horace,

unus et unguis

Exprimet, et molles imitabitur ære capillos.

they sink the grandeur of the whole, by finishing every thing with the neatest want of judgment.

BESIDES these, there is a fourth sort of men, who pretend to divest themselves of partiality * on both sides, and to get above that imperfect idea of their subject, which little writers fall into; who propose to themselves a calm search after truth, and a rational adherence to probability in their historical collections: who neither wish to be led into the fables of superstition †, nor are willing to support the injustice of a malignant criticism; but, endeavouring to steer in a middle way, have obtained a character of failing least in the choice of materials for history, though drawn from the darkest ages.

BEING therefore to write something concerning a Life, which there is little prospect

And our poet's practical application to *painting* in his youth, under the tuition of Mr. Jervas, has given rise to his frequent illustrations and comparisons from that art. Editor.

* In the first edition:—"of *impetuous emotions* on both sides."

† In the first edition he wrote *poetry* for *superstition*, and *falsehoods* for *injustice*: and has given perspicuity to the conclusion of the paragraph, originally written thus:—"for history, *even* from "the darkest ages."

of our knowing, after it has been the fruitless enquiry of so many ages *, and which has however been thus differently treated by historians, I shall endeavour to speak of it not as a certainty, but as the tradition, opinion, or collection of authors, who have been supposed to write of Homer in these four preceding methods ; to which we also shall add some farther conjectures of our own. After his life has been thus rather invented than written, I shall consider him historically as an author, with regard to those works which he has left behind him : in doing which, we may trace the degrees of esteem they have obtained in different periods of time, and regulate our present opinion of them, by a view of that age in which they were writ †.

I. I. If we take a view of Homer
 Stories of Ho- in those fabulous traditions which
 mer, which are the admiration of the ancient hea-
 the effects of *ex-* thens has occasioned, we find them
travagant admi- running to superstition, and mul-
ration.

* It may be collected from Herodotus, ii. 53. that even this historian was not clear within a century as to the precise time, in which Homer lived, nor as to the comparative antiquity of him and Hesiod. Editor.

† *Writ.* This participle was better given at length *written* in the first edition ; but our author's uncertainty, with respect to the

tiplied, and contradictory to one another*, in the different accounts which are given with respect to Ægypt and Greece, the two native countries of fable.

WE have one in † Eustathius most strangely framed, which Alexander Paphius has reported concerning Homer's birth and infancy. That "he was born in Ægypt of Dmasagoras
 " and Æthra, and brought up by a daughter of
 " Orus, the priest of Isis, who was herself a
 " prophetess, and from whose breasts drops
 " of honey would frequently distill into the
 " mouth of the infant. In the night-time
 " the first sounds he uttered were the notes of
 " nine several birds; in the morning he was
 " found playing with nine doves in the bed:
 " the Sibyl, who attended him, used to be
 " seized with a poetical fury, and utter verses,
 " in which she commanded Dmasagoras to

grammatical formations of the verb, occasioned this alteration to the detriment of the impression on the ear. He uses *writ* elsewhere as the preterite; when it is much better regarded as the abbreviation of the participle, for the purpose of distinction from *wrote*. Editor.

* In the first edition:—"independent on one another."

† Eustathius in Od. 12.

“ build a temple to the Muses : this he per-
 “ formed in obedience to her inspiration,
 “ and related all these things to the child
 “ when he was grown up ; who, in memory
 “ of the doves which played with him dur-
 “ ing his infancy, has in his works preferred
 “ this bird to the honour of bringing Ambrosia
 “ to Jupiter.”

ONE would think a story of this nature so
 fit for age to talk of, and infancy to hear,
 were incapable of being handed down to us *.
 But we find the tradition again taken up to
 be heightened in one part, and carried for-
 ward in another. † Heliodorus, who had
 heard of this claim which Ægypt put in
 for Homer, endeavours to strengthen it by
 naming Thebes for the particular place of
 his birth. He allows too, that a priest was his
 reputed father, but that his real father, accord-
 ing to the opinion of Ægypt, was Mercury: he
 says, “ That when the Priest was celebrating

* This seems very strangely expressed : and, except there be a
 contrast intended between *talking* and *hearing*, and *written* under-
 stood ; as if it was a story fit only to be *talked of* and *heard*, but not
 written ; I do not comprehend the purport of the sentence. On any
 supposition, it is obscure.

Editor.

† Heliod. Æthiop. l. 3.

“ the rites of his country, and therefore slept
 “ with his wife in the Temple, the God had
 “ knowledge of her, and begot Homer: that
 “ he was born with tufts of hair on his * thigh,
 “ as a sign of unlawful generation, from
 “ whence he was called Homer by the nations
 “ through which he wandered: that he him-
 “ self was the occasion why this story of his
 “ divine extraction is unknown; because he
 “ neither told his name, race, nor country,
 “ being ashamed of his exile, to which his
 “ reputed father drove him from among the
 “ consecrated youths, on account of that mark,
 “ which their priests esteemed a testimony of
 “ an incestuous birth.”

THESE are the extravagant stories by which
 men, who have not been able to express how
 much they admire him, transcend the bounds
 of probability to say something extraordinary.
 The mind, that becomes dazzled with the sight
 of his performances, loses the common idea of
 a man in the fancied splendor of perfection: it
 deems nothing less than a God worthy to be
 his Father, nothing less than a Prophetess

* Ὁ μηρὸς, Femur.

deserving to be his nurse; and, growing unwilling that he should be spoken of in a language beneath its imaginations, delivers fables in the place of history.

BUT whatever has thus been offered to support the claim of Ægypt, they who plead for Greece are not to be accused for coming short of it. Their fancy rose with a refinement as much above that of their masters*, as the Greek Imagination was superior to that of the Ægyptians: their Fiction was but a Veil, and frequently wrought fine enough to be seen through, so that it hardly hides the meaning it is made to cover, from the first glance of the imagination. For a proof of this, we may mention that poetical genealogy which is delivered for Homer's, in the † Greek treatise of the contention between him and Hesiod, and but little varied by the relation of it in Suidas.

“THE Poet Linus (say they) was born of
“Apollo, and Thoöse the daughter of Neptune.

* In the first edition:—“above *what we are supposed to have of*
“their masters; and frequently *the veil of fiction is wrought fine*
“enough—.” Hence arose the repetition of *imagination*.

† Ἀγών Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου.

“ Pierus of Linus: Æagrus of King Pierus and
“ the Nymph Methone: Orpheus of Æagrus
“ and the Muse Calliope. From Orpheus
“ came Othrys; from him Harmonides; from
“ him Philoterpus; from him Euphemus; from
“ him Epiphrades, who begot Menalops, the
“ father of Dius; Dius had Hesiod the Poet
“ and Perfes by Pucamede, the daughter of
“ Apollo: then Perfes had Mæon, on whose
“ daughter Crytheis, the river Meles begot
“ Homer.”

HERE we behold a wonderful genealogy, contrived industriously to raise our idea to the highest, where Gods, Goddeses, Muses, Kings, and Poets link in a descent; nay, where Poets are made to depend, as it were, in clusters upon the same stalk beneath one another. If we consider too that Harmonides is derived from harmony, Philoterpus from love of delight, Euphemus from beautiful diction, Epiphrades from intelligence, and Pucamede from prudence; it may not be improbable, but the inventors meant, by a fiction of this nature, to turn such qualifications into persons, as were agreeable to his character, for whom the line was drawn: so that every thing divine or great,

will thus come together by the extravagant indulgence of fancy, while Admiration turns itself in some to bare Fable, in others to Allegory *.

AFTER this fabulous tree of his pedigree, we may regularly view him in one passage concerning his birth, which, though it differs in a circumstance, from what has been here delivered, yet carries on the same air, and regards the same traditions. There is a short life of Homer attributed to Plutarch, wherein a third part of Aristotle on poetry, which is now lost, is quoted for an account of his uncommon birth, in this manner. “ At the time when Neleus, the son
“ of Codrus, led the colony which was sent
“ into Ionia, there was in the island of Iö a
“ young girl, compressed by a Genius, who
“ delighted to associate with the Muses, and
“ share in their consorts. She, finding her-
“ self with child, and being touched with the
“ shame of what had happened to her, removed
“ from thence to a place called Ægina. There

* In the first edition — “ while it turns itself *sometimes* to admiration, and *sometimes* to allegory.”

“ she was taken in an excursion made by rob-
“ bers, and being brought to Smyrna, which
“ was then under the Lydians, they gave her
“ to Mæon the King, who married her upon
“ account of her beauty. But while she walk-
“ ed on the bank of the river Meles, she
“ brought forth Homer, and expired. The
“ infant was taken by Mæon, and bred up as
“ his son, till the death of that Prince.” And
from this point of the story the Poet is let down
into his traditional poverty. Here we see,
though he be taken out of the lineage of Meles,
where we met him before, he has still as won-
derful a rise invented for him; he is still to
spring from a Demigod, one who was of a
poetical disposition, from whom he might in-
herit a soul turned to poetry, and receive an
assistance of heavenly inspiration.

IN his life the most general tradition concern-
ing him is his *blindness*, yet there are some who
will not allow even this to have happened after
the manner in which it falls upon other men:
chance and sickness are excluded; nothing less
than Gods and heroes must be visibly concerned
about him. Thus we find among the different

accounts which * Hermias has collected concerning his blindness, that when Homer resolved to write of Achilles, he had an exceeding desire to fill his mind with a just idea of so glorious a hero: wherefore, having paid all due honours at his tomb, he intreats that he may obtain a sight of him. The hero grants his poet's petition, and rises in a glorious suit of armour, which cast so unfufferable a splendor, that Homer lost his eyes, while he gazed for the enlargement of his notions†.

IF this be any thing more than a mere fable, one would be apt to imagine it insinuated his contracting a blindness by too intense an application while he wrote his Iliad. But it is a very pompous way of letting us into the knowledge of so short a truth: it looks as if men imagined the lives of poets should be poetically

* Hermias in *Phæd.* Plat. Leo Allat. *de Patr. Hom.* c. 10.

† One might suppose not absurdly, that Gray had taken an impulse from this fable in his fiction of Milton; a fiction, as nobly conceived, as it is sublimely wrought:

The living throne, the sapphire blaze,
Where angels tremble while they gaze,
He saw: but, blasted with excess of light,
Clos'd his eyes in endless night.

written ; that to speak plainly of them, were to speak contemptibly ; or that we debase them, when they are placed in less glorious company than those exalted spirits which they themselves have been fond to celebrate. We may however in some measure be reconciled to this last idle fable, for having occasioned so beautiful an Episode in the *Ambra* of *Politian*. That which does not inform us in a history, may please us in its proper sphere of poetry.

II.

Stories of Homer proceeding from *envy*.

II. SUCH stories as these have been the effects of a superstitious fondness, and of the astonishment of men at what they consider * in a view of perfection. But neither have all the same taste, nor do they equally submit to the superiority of others, nor bear that human nature, which they know to be imperfect, should be praised in an extreme, without opposition. From some principles of this kind have arisen a second sort of stories, which glance at Homer with malignant suppositions, and endeavour to throw a diminishing air over his life,

* In the first edition :—“ and of *our* astonishment at what *we* consider—.”

as a kind of answer to those who sought to aggrandize him injudiciously.

UNDER this head we may reckon those ungrounded conjectures with which his adversaries asperse the very design and prosecution of his travels, when they insinuate, that they were one continued search after authors who had written before him, and particularly upon the same subject, in order to destroy them, or to rob them of their inventions.

THUS we read in * Diodorus Siculus,
“ That there was one Daphne the daughter of
“ Tiresias, who from her inspirations obtained
“ the title of a Sibyl. She had made a very
“ extraordinary genius, and being made
“ priestess at Delphos, wrote oracles with
“ wonderful elegance, which Homer sought
“ for, and adorned his poems with several of
“ her verses.” But she is placed so far in the
fabulous age of the world, that nothing can
be averred of her: and as for the verses now
ascribed to the Sibyls, they are more modern
than to be able to confirm the story; which,

* Diod. Sic. l. 4.

as it is universally assented to, discovers that whatever there is in them in common with Homer, the compilers have rather taken from him; perhaps to strengthen the authority of their work by the protection of this tradition.

THE next insinuation we hear is from Suidas, that Palamedes, who fought at Troy, was famous for poetry, and wrote concerning that war in the Dorick letter which he invented, probably much against Agamemnon and Ulysses, his mortal enemies. Upon this account some have fancied his works were suppressed by Agamemnon's posterity, or that their entire destruction was contrived and effected by Homer when he undertook the same subject. But surely the works of so considerable a man, when they had been able to bear up so long a time as that which passed between the siege of Troy, and the flourishing of Homer, must have been too much dispersed, for one of so mean a condition as he is represented, to have destroyed in every place, though he had been never so much assisted by the vigilant temper of Envy. And we may say too, that what might have been capable of raising this principle in him, must be capable of being in some measure esteemed

by others, and of having at least one line of it preserved to us as his.

AFTER him, in the order of time, we meet with a whole set of names, to whom the maligners of Homer would have him obliged, without being able to prove their assertion. Suidas mentions Corinnus Ilienſis, the ſecretary of Palamedes, who writ a poem upon the ſame ſubject, but no one is produced as having ſeen it. * Tzetzes mentions (and from Johannes Melala † only) Sifyphus the Coan, ſecretary of Teucer, but it is not ſo much as known if he writ verſe or proſe. Beſides theſe, are Dictys the Cretan, ſecretary to Idomeneus, and Dares the Phrygian, an attendant of Hector, who have ſpurious treatiſes paſſing under their names. From each of theſe is Homer ſaid to have borrowed his whole argument; ſo inconſiſtent are theſe ſtories with one another.

THE next names we find, are Demodocus, whom Homer might have met at Corcyra; and

* Tzetzes Chil. 5. Hiſt. 29.

† The name is never thus written; ſome have it *Malala*, and others *Malela*. Editor.

Phemius, whom he might have met at Ithaca : the one (as * Plutarch says) having according to tradition written the war of Troy, the other the *return* of the Grecian captains. But these are only two names of friends, which he is pleased to honour with eternity in his poem, or two different pictures of himself, as author of the Iliad and Odysses, or entirely the children of his imagination, without any particular allusion. So that his usage here puts me in mind of his own Vulcan in the † Iliad : the God had cast two statues, which he endued with the power of motion ; and it is said presently after, that he is scarce able to go unless they support him.

It is reported by some, says ‡ Ptolemæus Ephæstio, “ That there was before Homer a
 “ woman of Memphis, called Phantasia, who
 “ writ of the wars of Troy, and the wand-
 “ rings of Ulysses. Now Homer arriving at
 “ Memphis where she had laid up her works,
 “ and getting acquainted with Phanitas, whose
 “ business it was to copy the sacred writings,

* Plutarch on Musick.

† Iliad, xviii. 87.

‡ Ptol. Eph. Excerpt. apud Photium, l.

“ he obtained a sight of these, and followed
“ entirely the scheme she had drawn.” But
this is a wild story, which speaks of an Ægypt-
ian woman with a Greek name, and who
never was heard of but upon this account. It
appears indeed from his knowledge of the
Ægyptian learning, that he was initiated into
their mysteries, and for ought we know by
one Phanitas. But if we consider what the
name of the woman signifies, it seems only as
if from being used in a figurative expression,
it had been mistaken afterwards for a proper
name. And then the meaning will be, that
having gathered as much information concern-
ing the Grecian and Trojan story, as he could
be furnished with from the accounts of Ægypt,
which were generally mixed with fancy and
fable, he wrought out his plans of the Iliad
and the Odysses.

WE pass all these stories, together with the
little Iliad of Siagrus, mentioned by * Ælian.
But one cannot leave this subject without re-
flecting on the depreciating humour, and odd
industry of man, which shews itself in raising
such a number of insinuations that clash with

* Ælian. l. 14. c. 21.

each other, and in spiriting up such a croud of unwarranted names to support them. Nor can we but admire at the contradictory nature of this proceeding; that names of works, which either never were in being, or never worthy to live, should be produced only to persuade us that the most lasting and beautiful poem of the ancients was taken out of them. A beggar might be content to patch up a garment with such shreds as the world throws away, but it is never to be imagined an Emperor would make his robes of them.

AFTER Homer had spent a considerable time in travel, we find him towards his age introduced to such an action as tends to his disparagement. It is not enough to accuse him for spoiling the dead, they raise a living author, by whom he must be baffled in that qualification on which his fame is founded.

THERE is in * Hesiod an account of an ancient poetical contention at the funeral of Amphidamas, in which, he says, he obtained the prize, but does not mention from whom he carried it. There is also among the † *Hymns* ascribed

* Hesiod. Op. & dierum, l. 2. ver. 272, &c.

† Hom. Hymn. 2. ad Venerem.

to Homer, a prayer to Venus for success in a poetical dispute, but it neither mentions where, nor against whom. But though they have neglected to name their antagonists, others have since taken care to fill up the stories by putting them together. The making two such considerable names in poetry engage, carries an amusing pomp in it, like making two heroes of the first rank enter the lists of combat. And if Homer and Hesiod had their parties among the *Grammarians*, here was an excellent opportunity for Hesiod's favourers to make a sacrifice of Homer. Hence a bare conjecture might spread into a *tradition*, then the tradition give occasion to an *epigram*, which is yet extant, and again the *epigram* (for want of knowing the time it was writ in) be alledged as a *proof* of that conjecture from whence it sprung. After this a * whole treatise was written upon it, which appears not very ancient, because it mentions Adrian: the story agrees in the main with the short account we find in † Plutarch, “ That Ganiætor, the son of Amphidamas, “ King of Eubœa, being used to celebrate

* Ἀγὼν Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου.

† Plut. *Banquet of the seven wise men.*

“ his father’s funeral games, invited from all
 “ parts men famous for strength and wisdom.
 “ Among these Homer and Hesiod arrived at
 “ Chalcis. The king Panidas presided over
 “ the contest, which being finished, he decreed
 “ the Tripod to Hesiod, with this sentence,
 “ That the poet of peace and husbandry better
 “ deserved to be crowned, than the poet of war
 “ and contention*. Whereupon Hesiod dedi-
 “ cated the prize to the muses, with this
 “ inscription:

“ Ἡσίοδῳ Μῆσαι Ἐλικωνίσι τὸνδ’ ἀνέθηκεν,

“ Ὑμνῶ νικήσας ἐν Χαλκίδι θεῖον Ὀμηρον.”

Which are two lines taken from that place in Hesiod where he mentions no antagonist, and altered, that the two names might be brought in, as is evident by comparing them with these,

“ Ὑμνῶ νικήσαντα φέρειν τρίποδ’ ἀτῶντα,

Τὸν μὲν Ἐγὼ Μῆσης Ἐλικωνιάδεσσ’ ἀνέθηκα.”

To answer this story, we may take notice that Hesiod is generally placed after Homer. Grævius, his own commentator, sets him a hundred years lower; and whether he were

* Thus in the first edition:—“ with this *elogy in the* sentence,
 “ That the poet of peace and husbandry better deserved to be
 “ crowned, than *he who stirs us up to war and contention.*”

so or no, yet * Plutarch has slightly passed the whole account as a fable. Nay, we may draw an argument against it from Hesiod himself: he had a love of Fame, which caused him to engage at the funeral games, and which went so far as to make him record his conquest in his own works; had he defeated Homer, the same principle would have made him mention a name that could have secured his own to immortality. A Poet who records his glory, would not omit the noblest circumstance, and Homer, like a captive Prince, had certainly graced the triumph of his adversary.

TOWARDS the latter end of his life, there is another story invented, which makes him conclude it in a manner altogether beneath the greatness of a genius. We find, in the life said to be written by Plutarch, a tradition, “ That he was warned by an oracle to beware
“ of the *young men’s riddle*. This remained
“ long obscure to him, till he arrived at the
“ island Iö. There as he sat to behold the
“ fishermen, they proposed to him a riddle in
“ verse, which he being unable to answer,

* Plut. *Sym.* l. 5. §. 2.

“died for grief.” This story refutes itself by carrying superstition at one end, and folly at the other. It seems conceived with an air of derision, to lay a great man in the dust after a foolish manner. The same sort of hand might have framed that tale of Aristotle’s drowning himself because he could not account for the Euripus: the design is the same, the turn the same; and all the difference, that the great men are each to suffer in his character, the one by a *poetical riddle*, the other by a *philosophical problem*. But these are actions which can only arise from the meanness of pride, or extravagance of madness: a soul enlarged with knowledge (so vastly as that of Homer) better knows the proper stresses which is to be laid upon every incident, and the proportion of concern, or carelessness, with which it ought to be affected. But it is the fate of narrow capacities to measure mankind by a false standard, and imagine the great, like themselves, capable of being disconcerted by little occasions; to frame their malignant fables according to this imagination, and to stand detected by it as by an evident mark of ignorance.

III. THE third manner in which the life of Homer has been written is but an amassing of all the traditions and hints which the writers could meet with, great or little, in order to tell a story of him to the world. Perhaps the want of choice materials might put them upon the necessity; or perhaps an injudicious desire of saying all they could, occasioned the fault. However it be, a life composed of trivial circumstances, which (though it give a true account of several passages) shews a man but little in that light in which he was most famous*, and has hardly any thing correspondent to the idea we entertain of him: such a life, I say, will never answer rightly the demand the world has upon an historian. Yet the most formal account we have of Homer is of this nature, I mean that which is said to be collected by Herodotus. It is, in short, an unsupported minute treatise, composed of events which lie within the compass of probability, and belong to the lowest sphere of life. It seems through all its frame to be entirely con-

III.
Stories of Homer proceeding from trifling curiosity.

* In the first edition thus: "passages) *has* but little of that appearance in which a man was most famous."

ducted by the spirit of a *Grammarian*; ever abounding with *extempore verses*, as if it were to prove a thing so unquestionable as our author's title to rapture*; and at the same time the occasions are so poorly invented, that they misbecome the warmth of a poetical imagination. There is nothing in it above the life which a *Grammarian* might lead himself; nay, it is but such a one as they commonly do lead, the highest stage of which is to be *master of a school*†. But because this is a treatise to which writers have had recourse for want of a better, I shall give the following abstract of it.

HOMER was born at Smyrna, about one hundred sixty-eight years after the siege of Troy, and six hundred twenty-two years before the *expedition* of Xerxes. His mother's name was Crytheis, who proving unlawfully with child, was sent away from Cumæ by her uncle, with

* *Rapture*: that is, the enthusiasm and inspiration of poetry. Thus Butler, of the Widow's influence on Hudibras:

And, if a blast of air escapt her,
It pust him with *poetic rapture*.

Editor.

† And yet this was the life of Milton; and why not of Homer? But these are some of the conceited flourishes, with which our poet, in the fulness of prosperity and self-importance, would occasionally indulge his vanity.

Editor.

Ifmenias, one of those who led the colony of Smyrna, then building. A while after, as she was celebrating a festival with other women on the banks of the river Meles, she was delivered of Homer, whom she therefore named Melefigenes. Upon this she left Ifmenias, and supported herself by her labour*, 'till Phemius (who taught a school in Smyrna) fell in love with her, and married her. But both dying in process of time, the school fell to Homer, who managed it with such wisdom, that he was universally admired both by natives and strangers. Amongst these latter was Mentès, a master of a ship from Leucadia, by whose persuasions and promises he gave up his school, and went to travel: with him he visited Spain and Italy, but was left behind at Ithaca upon account of a defluxion in his eyes. During his stay he was entertained by one Mentor, a man of fortune, justice, and hospitality, and learned the principal incidents of Ulysses's life. But at the return of Mentès, he went from thence to Colophon, where, his defluxion renewing, he fell entirely blind. Upon this he

* In the first edition :—" by *working*."

could think of no better expedient than to go back to Smyrna, where perhaps he might be supported by those who knew him, and have the leisure to addict himself to poetry. But there he found his poverty increase, and his hopes of encouragement fail; so that he removed to Cumæ, and by the way was entertained for some time at the house of one Tychius a leather-dresser. At Cumæ his poems were wonderfully admired, but when he proposed to eternize their town if they would allow him a salary, he was answered, that there would be no end of maintaining all the "Ομηροί, or *blind men**, and hence he got the name of Homer. From Cumæ he went to Phocæa, where one Thestorides (a school-master also) offered to maintain him if he would suffer him to transcribe his verses: this Homer complying with through mere necessity, the other had no sooner gotten them, but he removed to Chios; there the poems gained him wealth and honour, while the author himself hardly earned his bread by repeating

* So Hesychius: ὁμηροὶ ὁ τυρλαῖος & Lycophron, ver. 422.

Ὁμηρον ὅς μιν θῆκε, τετραγίας λυχνίας.

And it seems very probable, that he acquired this name from his blindness. Editor.

them. At last, some who came from Chios having told the people that the same verses were published there by a school-master, Homer resolved to find him out. Having therefore landed near that place, he was received by one Glaucus a shepherd, (at whose door he had like to have been worried by dogs) and carried by him to his master at Bollissus, who admiring his knowledge, intrusted him with the education of his children. Here his praise began to spread, and Thestorides, who heard of his neighbourhood, fled before him. He removed however some time afterwards to Chios, where he set up a school of poetry, gained a competent fortune, married a wife, and had two daughters, the one of which died young, the other was married to his patron at Bollissus. Here he inserted in his poems the names of those to whom he had been most obliged, as Mentès, Phemius, Mentor, and Tychius; and resolving for Athens, he made honourable mention of that city, to prepare the Athenians for a kind reception. But as he went, the ship put in at Samos, where he continued the whole winter, singing at the houses of great men, with a train of boys after him. In spring he went on board again in order to

profecute his journey to Athens, but landing by the way at Ios, he fell sick, died, and was buried on the sea-shore.

THIS is the life of Homer ascribed to Herodotus, though it is wonderful it should be so, since it evidently contradicts his own *history*, by placing Homer six hundred twenty-two years before the expedition of Xerxes; whereas Herodotus himself, who was alive at the time of that expedition, says, Homer was only * four hundred years before him. However, if we can imagine that there may be any thing of truth in the main parts of this treatise, we may gather these general observations from it: that he shewed a great thirst after knowledge, by undertaking such long and numerous travels: that he manifested an unexampled vigour of mind, by being able to write with more fire under the disadvantages of blindness, and the utmost poverty, than any poet after him in better circumstances; and that he had an unlimited sense of fame, (the attendant of noble spirits†) which prompted him to engage

* Herod. L. 2.

† Alluding to that verse in one of our poets, speaking of the love of Fame,

That last infirmity of noble minds.

See also Addison's Campaign, ver. 159.

Editor.

in new travels, both under these disadvantages, and the additional burthen of old age.

BUT it will not perhaps be either improper or difficult to make some conjectures which seem to lay open the foundation from whence the traditions which frame the low lives of Homer have risen*. We may consider, that there are no historians of his time, (or none handed down to us) who have mentioned him; and that he has never spoken plainly of himself, in those works which have been ascribed to him without controversy. However, an eager desire to know something concerning him has occasioned mankind to labour the point under these disadvantages, and turn on all hands to see if there were any thing left which might have the least appearance of information. Upon the search they find no remains but his *name* and *works*, and resolve to torture these upon the rack of invention, in order to give some account of the person they belong to.

THE first thing therefore they settle is, That what passed for his *name* must be his *name* no

* More fully in the first edition: “*In the first place we may consider.*”

longer, but an *additional title* used instead of it. The reason why it was given, must be some accident of his life*. They then proceed to consider every thing that the word may imply by its derivation. One finds that Ὀμῆρς signifies a *thigh*; whence arises the tradition in † Heliodorus, that he was banished Ægypt for the mark on that part, which shewed a spurious birth; and this they imagine ground enough to give him the life of a wanderer. A second finds, that Ὀμῆρς signifies an *hostage*, and then he must be delivered as such in a war (according to ‡ Proclus) between Smyrna and Chios. A third can derive the name Ὀμὴν ὀρῶν, *non videns*, from whence he must be a *blind man* (as in the piece ascribed to § Herodotus). A fourth brings it from Ὀμῶς ἐρεῖν, *speaking in council*; and then (as it is in Suidas) he must, by a divine inspiration, declare to the Smyrnæans, that they should war against Colophon. A fifth finds the word may be brought to signify *following others*, or *joining himself* to them, and then he must be called Homer for saying,

* In the first edition: “*Having thus found an end of the clue,*
“ they proceed —.”

† Hel. l. 3.

‡ Procl. vit. Hom.

§ Herod. vit. Hom.

(as it is quoted from * Aristotle in the life ascribed to Plutarch) that he would 'Ομηρεῖν, or *follow* the Lydians from Smyrna. Thus has the name been turned and winded, enough at least to give a suspicion, that he who got a *new etymology*, got a handle either for a *new life* of him, or something which he added to the old one.

HOWEVER, the *name* itself not affording enough to furnish out a whole life, his *works* must be brought in for assistance, and it is taken for granted, That where he has not spoken of himself, he lies veiled beneath the persons or actions of those whom he describes. Because he calls a poet by the name of Phemius in his *Odyssy*, they conclude this † Phemius was his master. Because he speaks of Demodocus as another poet who was blind, and frequented palaces ; he must be sent about ‡ blind, to sing at the doors of rich men. If Ulysses be set upon by dogs at his shepherd's cottage, because this is a low adventure, it is thought to be his own at Bollissus. § And if

* Plut. vit. Hom. † Herod. vit. Hom. ‡ Herod. vit. Hom,
§ Herod. vit. Hom.

he calls the leather-dresser, who made Ajax's shield, by the name of Tychius, he must have been supported by such an one in his wants: nay, some have been so violently carried into this way of conjecturing, that the bare † *simile* of a woman who works hard for her livelihood, is said to have been borrowed from his mother's condition, and brought as a proof of it. Thus he is still imagined to intend himself; and the fictions of poetry, converted into real facts, are delivered for his life, who has assigned them to others. All those stories in his works which suit with a mean condition are supposed to have happened to him; though the same way of inference might as well prove him to have acted in a higher sphere, from the many passages that shew his skill in government, and his knowledge of the great parts of life.

THERE are some other scattered stories of Homer which fall not under these heads, but are however of as trifling a nature; as much unfit for the materials of history, still more ungrounded, if possible, and arising merely

† Vid. M. Dacier's Life of Homer.

from chance, or the humours of men: such is the report we meet with from * Heraclides, that “Homer was fined at Athens for a mad-man ;” which seems invented by the disciples of Socrates, to cast an odium upon the Athenians for their consenting to the death of their master, and carries in it something like a declaiming revenge of the schools, as if the world should imagine the one could be esteemed *mad*, where the other was put to death for being *wicked*. Such another report is that in † Ælian, “That Homer portioned his daughter with some of his works for want of money ;” which looks but like a whim delivered in the gaiety of fancy ; a jest upon a poor wit, which at first might have had an Epigrammatist for its father, and been afterwards gravely understood by some painful collector. In short, mankind have laboured heartily about him to no purpose ; they have caught up every thing greedily, with that busy minute curiosity and unsatisfactory inquisitiveness which Seneca calls the *Disease of the Greeks* ; they have puzzled the cause by their

* Diogenes Laertius ex Heracl. in vita Socratis.

† Ælian, l. 9. cap. 15.

attempts to find it out ; and, like travellers entirely destitute of a road, yet resolved to make one over unpassable deserts, they superinduce error, instead of removing ignorance.

IV. IV* . WHENEVER any authors
 Probable con- have attempted to write the life
 jectures con- of Homer, clear from supersti-
 cerning Homer. tion, envy, and trifling, they have grown
 ashamed of all these traditions. This, how-
 ever, has not occasioned them to desist from
 the undertaking ; but still the difficulty which
 could not make them desist, has necessitated
 them, either to deliver the old story with
 excuses, or else, instead of a life, to compose
 a treatise partly of *criticism*, and partly of
character ; rather descriptive, than supported
 by action, and the air of history.

THEY begin with acquainting
 His Time. us, that the *Time* in which he lived
 has never been fixed beyond dispute, and that
 the opinions of authors are various concerning

* Thus originally : “ Whenever *men* have *set themselves* to write
 “ a life of Homer—.” Some variations, still more trivial, I have
 left unnoticed : which, however, may be probably disapproved by
 those, who think, and not absurdly, with Dr. Johnson, “ that
 “ no fragment of so great a writer should be lost.” Editor.

it: but the controverſy, in its ſeveral conjectures, includes a ſpace of years between the earlieſt and lateſt, from twenty-four to about five hundred, after the ſiege of Troy. Whenever the time was, it ſeems not to have been near that ſiege, from his own * *Invocation* of the *Muſes* to recount the catalogue of the ſhips: “ For we, ſays he, have only heard a
 “ rumour, and know nothing particularly.” It is remarked by † Velleius Paterculus, That it muſt have been conſiderably later, from his own confeſſion, that “ mankind was but half
 “ as ſtrong in his age, as in that he writ of;” which, as it is founded upon a notion of a gradual degeneracy in our nature, diſcovers the interval to have been long between Homer and his ſubject. But not to trouble ourſelves with entering into all the dry diſpute, we may take notice, that the world is inclined to ſtand by the * *Arundelian marble*, as the moſt certain

* Ημεῖς δὲ κλέψομεν οἶον ἀκρόμεν ἔδ' ἔτι ἴδμεν. *Iliad*, ii. ver. 487.

† Hic longe à temporibus belli quod composuit, Troici, quàm quidam rentur, abſuit. Nam fermè ante annos 950 floruit, intra mille natus eſt: quo nomine non eſt mirandum quod ſæpe illud uſurpat, οἷοι νυν βρότοι εἰσι. Hòc enim ut *hominum* ita *ſæculorum* notatur differentia. Vell. Paterc. lib. i.

* Vide Dacier, Du Pin, &c. concerning the *Arundelian marble*.

computation of those early times ; and this, by placing him at the time when Diogenetus ruled in Athens, makes him flourish a little before the Olympiads were established ; about three hundred years after the taking of Troy, and near a thousand before the *Christian Æra*. For a farther confirmation of this, we have some great names of antiquity who give him a cotemporary * agreeing with the computation. † Cicero says, There was a tradition that Homer lived about the time of Lycurgus. ‡ Strabo tells us, It was reported that Lycurgus went to Chios for an interview with him. And even § Plutarch, when he says, Lycurgus received Homer's works from the grandson of that Creophilus with whom he had lived, does not put him so far backward, but that possibly they might have been alive at the same time.

* *Cotemporary*. Thus Bentley, in his Preface to the Dissertation on Phalaris, : “ Though I must freely declare, I would rather use, “ not my own words only, but even these too, than that single “ word of the examiner's *cotemporary* ; which is a downright barbarism. For the Latins never use *co* for *con*, except before a “ vowel, as *coequal*, *coeternal* ; but, before a consonant, they either “ retain the *n*, as *contemporary*, *constitution* ; or melt it into another “ letter, as *collection*, *comprehension*. So that the examiner's *cotemporary* is a word of his own *coposition*, for which the learned world “ will *cogratulate* him.” Editor.

† Cicero Qu. Tuscul. l. 5. ‡ Strabo, l. 10. § Plut. vitâ Lycurgi.

THE next dispute regards his *country*, concerning which * Adrian ^{His Country.} enquired of the Gods, as a question not to be settled by men; and Appion (according to † Pliny) raised a spirit for his information. That which has increased the difficulty, is the number of contesting places, of which Suidas has reckoned up nineteen in one breath. But his ancient commentator, ‡ Didymus, found the subject so fertile, as to employ a great part of his four thousand volumes upon it. There is a prophecy of the Sibyls that he should be born at Salamis in Cyprus; and then to play an argument of the same nature against it, there is the *oracle* given to Adrian afterwards, that says he was born in Ithaca. There are *customs* of Æolia and Ægypt cited from his works, to make out by turns and with the same probability, that he belonged to each of them. There was a *school* shewed for his at Colophon, and a tomb at Iö, both of equal strength to prove he had his birth in either. As for the Athenians, they challenged him as born where they had a colony; or else in

* Ἀγών Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου, of Adrian's Oracle.

† Plin. l. 30. cap. 2

‡ Seneca Ep. 88. concerning Didymus.

behalf of Grece in general, and as the *metropolis* of its learning, they made his name free of their city (*qu. Liciniâ & Mutiâ lege*, says * Politian) after the manner of that law by which all Italy became free of Rome. All these have their authors to record their titles, but still the weight of the question seems to lie between Smyrna and Chios, which we must therefore take a little more notice of. That Homer was born at Smyrna, is endeavoured to be proved by an † *Epigram*, recorded to have been under the Statue of Pisistratus at Athens; by the reports mentioned in Cicero, Strabo and A. Gellius; and by the Greek lives, which pass under the names of Herodotus, Plutarch and Proclus; as also the two that are anonymous. The ‡ Smyrnæans built a temple to him, cast medals of him, and grew so possess'd of his having been theirs, that it is said they burned Zoilus for affronting them in the person of Homer. On the other hand, the Chians plead the ancient authorities of § Simonides and || Theocritus for his being

* Politian. *Præf. in Homerum*.

† *Epigram on Pisistratus in the anonymous life before Homer.*

‡ Vitruvius *Proœm.* l. 7.

§ Simonides *Frag. de brevitæ vitæ*, quoting a verse of Homer &

Ἐν δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον Χῖος ἔειπεν ἀνὴρ.

born among them. They mention a race they had, called the Homeridæ, whom they reckoned his posterity; they cast medals of him; they shew to this day an Homærium, or temple of Homer, near Bolliffus; and close their arguments with a quotation from the Hymn to Apollo (which is acknowledged for Homer's by * Thucydides) where he calls himself, “The
“ blind man that inhabits Chios.” The reader has here the sum of the large treatise of Leo Allatius, written particularly on the subject †, in which, after having separately weighed the pretensions of all, he concludes for Chios. For my part, I determine nothing in a point of so much uncertainty; neither which of these was honoured with his birth: nor whether any of them was; nor again, whether each may not have produced his own Homer; since ‡ Xenophon says, there were many of the name. But one cannot avoid being surprized

|| Theocritus *in* Dioscuris, *ad fin.*

——— Χῖος ἀοιδὸς
 Ὑμνήσας Πριάμοιο πόλιν καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν,
 Ἰλιάδας τε μάχας.

* Thucyd. *lib.* 3. † Leo Allatius *de patriâ Homeri.*

‡ Xenophon *de Æquivocis.*

at the prodigious veneration for his character, which could engage mankind with such eagerness in a point so little essential; that Kings should send to oracles for the enquiry of his birth-place; that cities should be in strife about it, and whole lives of learned men should be employed upon it; that some should write treatises concerning it; that others should call up spirits about it; that thus, in short, heaven, earth and hell should be sought to, for the decision of a question which terminates in curiosity only.

His Parents. IF we endeavour to find the *parents* of Homer; * the search is as fruitless. † Ephorus had made Mæon to be his father, by a niece whom he defloured; and this has so far obtained, as to give him the derivative name of Mæonides. His mother (if we allow the story of Mæon) is called Crytheis: but we are lost again in uncertainty, if we search farther; for Suidas has mentioned Eumetis or Polycaste; and ‡ Pausanias, Clymene or Themisto; which happens, because the contest-

* Originally :—*We immediately perceive the search is fruitless.*"

† Plut. *vitâ Hom. ex Ephoro.* ‡ Pausanias, *l. 10.*

ing countries find out mothers of their own for him. Tradition has in this case afforded us no more light, than what may serve to shew its shadows in confusion; they strike the fight with so equal a probability, that we are in doubt which to chuse, and must pass the question undecided.

IF we enquire concerning his own ^{His name.} *name*, even that is doubted of. He has been called Melesigenes from the river where he was born. Homer has been reckoned an ascititious name, from some accident in his life: the *Certamen Homericum* calls him once Auletes, perhaps from his musical genius; and † Lucian, Tigranes; it may be from a confusion with that Tigranes or ‡ Tigretes, who was brother of Queen Artemisia, and whose name has been so far mingled with his, as to make him be esteemed author of some of the lesser works which are ascribed to Homer. It may not be amiss to close these criticisms with that agreeable derision wherewith Lucian treats the over-busy humour of Grammarians

† Lucian's *true history*, l. 2.

‡ Suidas *de Tigrete*.

in their search after minute and impossible enquiries, when he feigns, that he had talked over the point with Homer, in the *Island of the Blessed*. “ I asked him, says he, of what country he was? A question hard to be resolved with us; to which he answered, He could not certainly tell, because some had informed him, that he was of Chios, some of Smyrna, and others of Colophon; but he took himself for a Babylonian, and said he was called Tigranes, while he lived among his countrymen; and Homer, while he was a hostage among the Grecians.”

AT his birth he appears not to have been *blind*, whatever he might be afterwards. The * Chian medal of him (which is of great antiquity, according to Leo Allatius) seats him with a volume open, and reading intently. But there is no need of proofs from antiquity for that which every line of his works will demonstrate. With what an exactness, agreeable to the natural appearance of things, do his cities stand, his

* The medal is exhibited at the beginning of this essay.

mountains rise, his rivers wind, and his regions lie extended? How beautifully are the views of all things * drawn in their figures, and adorned with their paintings? What address in action, what visible characters of the passions inspire his heroes? It is not to be imagined, that a man could have been always blind, who thus inimitably copies nature, who gives everywhere the proper proportion, figure, colour, and life: “*Quem si quis cæcum genitum putat*” (says † Paterculus) *omnibus sensibus orbis est:*” He must certainly have beheld the creation, considered it with a long attention, and enriched his fancy by the most sensible knowledge of those ideas which he makes the reader see while he but describes them ‡.

As he grew forward in years, he was trained up to learning (if we

His Education
and Master.

* In the first edition:—“the *surfaces* of all things.”

† Paterculus, l. 1.

‡ Thus Denham, in his Progress of Learning:

I can no more believe old Homer blind,
Than those who say the sun hath never shin'd;
The age wherein he liv'd was dark, but he
Could not want sight, who taught the world to see.

Editor.

credit * Diodorus) under one “ Pronapides, a
 “ man of excellent natural endowments, who
 “ taught the Pelasgick letter invented by
 “ Linus†.”

His travels. WHEN he was of riper years, for
 his farther accomplishment and the
 gratification of his thirst of knowledge, he spent
 a considerable part of his time in travelling.
 Upon which account, ‡ Proclus has taken
 notice that he must have been rich: “ For
 “ long travels, says he, occasion high expences,
 “ and especially at those times when men could
 “ neither fail without imminent danger and
 “ inconveniences, nor had a regulated manner
 “ of commerce with one another.” This way
 of reasoning appears very probable; and if it
 does not prove him to have been rich, it shews
 him, at least, to have had patrons of a generous

* Diod. Sic. l. 3.

† After *Linus*, there followed in the first edition: “ From him
 “ might he learn to preserve his poetry, by committing it to
 “ writing; which we mention, because it is generally believed no
 “ poems before his were so preserved; and he himself in the third
 “ line of his *Batrachomnómachia* (if that piece be allowed to be his)
 “ expressly speaks of writing his works in his tablets.”

‡ Procl. *vitâ* Hom.

spirit; who observing the vastness of his capacity, believed themselves beneficent to mankind, while they supported one who seemed born for something extraordinary.

ÆGYPT being at that time the seat of learning, the greatest wits and geniuses of Greece used to travel thither. Among these* Diodorus reckons Homer, and to strengthen his opinion alledges that multitude of their notions which he has received into his poetry, and of their customs, to which he alludes in his fictions: such as his *Gods*, which are named from the first *Egyptian Kings*; the number of the *Muses* taken from the *nine Minstrels* which attended *Osiris*; the *Feast* wherein they used to send their statues of the Deities into Æthiopia, and to return after twelve days; and the carrying their dead bodies over the lake to a pleasant place called Acherusia near Memphis, from whence arose the stories of Charon, Styx, and Elysium. These are notions which so abound in him, as to make† Herodotus say, He had

* Diod. Sic. l. 1.

† Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ὑλικίαν τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μὲν πρεσβυτέρως γενέσθαι, καὶ ὁ πλείοσι ἔτοι δὲ εἶσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεοφονίην Ἑλλήσι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες, καὶ τιμὰς τε καὶ τέχνας δειλόντες, καὶ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν ζημῆναι. Herodot. l. 2.

introduced from thence the *religion* of Greece. And if others have believed he was an Ægyptian, from his knowledge of their rites and traditions, which were revealed but to few, and of the arts and customs which were practised among them in general: it may prove at least thus much, that he must have travelled there*.

As Greece was in all probability his native country, and had then began to make an effort in learning, we cannot doubt but he travelled there also, with a particular observation. He uses the different *dialects* which were spoken in its different parts, as one who had been conversant with them all. But the argument which appears most irrefragable, is to be taken from his *catalogue* of the *ships*: he has there given us an exact *Geography* of Greece, where its cities, mountains, and plains, are particularly mentioned, where the courses of its rivers are traced out, where the countries are laid in order, their bounds assigned, and the uses of their soils specified. This the ancients, who compared it with the original, have allowed to be so true in

* I like the mode of expression in the first edition better:—
* that he *was* there *in his travels*."

all points, that it could never have been owing to a loose and casual information : even Strabo's account of Greece is but a kind of commentary upon Homer's.

WE may carry this argument farther, to suppose his having been round Asia Minor, from his exact division of the *Regnum Priami vetus* (as Horace calls it) into its separate Dynasties, and the account he gives of the bordering nations in alliance with it. Perhaps too, in the wanderings of Ulysses about Sicily, whose ports and neighbouring islands are mentioned, he might contrive to send his Hero where he had made his own voyage before. Nor will the fables he has intermingled be any objection to his having travelled in those parts, since they are not related as the history of the present time, but the tradition of the former. His mention of Thrace, his description of the beasts of Lybia, and of the climate in the Fortunate Islands, may seem also to give us a view of him in the extremes of the earth, where it was not barbarous or uninhabited. It is hard to set limits to the travels of a man, who has set none to that desire of knowledge which made him undertake them. Who can

say what people he has not seen, who appears to be versed in the customs of all? He takes the globe for the scene on which he introduces his subjects; he launches forward intrepidly, like one to whom no place is new, and appears a citizen of the world in general.

WHEN he returned from his travels, he seems to have applied himself to the finishing of his Poems, however he might have either designed, begun, or pursued them before. In these he treasured up his various acquisitions of knowledge, where they have been preserved through many ages, to be as well the proofs of his own industry, as the instructions of posterity. He could then describe his sacrifices after the Æolian manner; or * his leagues with a mixture of Trojan and Spartan ceremonies: † he could then compare the confusion of a multitude to that tumult he had observed in the Icarian sea, dashing and breaking among its croud of islands: he could represent the numbers of an army, by those flocks of ‡ swans he had seen on the banks of the Cayster; or being to describe that heat of battle with which Achilles

* Iliad, iii.

† Il. ii. verse 145.

‡ Ibid, ver. 461.

drove the Trojans into the river, * he could illustrate it with an allusion from Cyrene or Cyprus, where, when the inhabitants burned their fields, the grasshoppers fled before the fire to perish in the Ocean. His fancy being fully replenished, might supply him with every proper occasional image; and his soul after having enlarged itself, and taken in an extensive variety of the creation, might be equal to the task of an Iliad and an Odyssey.

IN his old *age*, he fell blind, and settled at Chios, as he says in the

His old age and
Death.

Hymn to Apollo, which (as is before observed) is acknowledged for his by Thucydides, and might occasion both Simonides and Theocritus to call him a Chian. † Strabo relates, That Lycurgus, the great legislator of Sparta, was reported to have a conference with Homer, after he had studied the laws of Crete and Ægypt, in order to form his constitutions. If this be true, how much a nobler representation does it give of him, and indeed more agreeable to what we conceive of this mighty genius, than those spurious accounts which keep him

* Il. xxi. verse 12.

† Strab. l. 10.

down among the meanest of mankind? What an idea could we frame to ourselves, of a conversation held between two persons so considerable; a philosopher conscious of the force of poetry, and a poet knowing in the depths of philosophy; both their souls improved with learning, both eminently raised above little designs or the meaner kind of interest, and meeting together to consult the good of mankind? But in this I have only indulged a thought which is not to be insisted upon; the evidence of history rather tends to prove that Lycurgus brought his works from Asia after his death: which * Proclus imagines to have happened at a great old age, on account of his vast extent of learning†, for which a short life could never suffice.

His character and manners. IF we would now make a conjecture concerning the genius and temper of this great man; perhaps his works, which would not furnish us with facts for his life, will be more reasonably made use of to give us a picture of his mind; to this end

* Procl. *vitâ* Hom.

† The first edition has:—"his *circumference* of Learning."

therefore, we may suffer the very name and notion of a book to vanish for a while, and look upon what is left us, as a conversation, in order to gain an acquaintance with Homer. Perhaps the general air of his works will become the general character of his genius; and the particular observations give some light to the particular turns of his temper. His comprehensive knowledge shews that his soul was not formed like a narrow channel for a single stream, but as an expanse which might receive an ocean into its bosom; that he had the strongest desire of improvement, and an unbounded curiosity, which made its advantage of every transient circumstance, or obvious accident. His solid and sententious manner may make us admire him for a man of judgment: one who, in the darkest ages, could enter far into a disquisition of human nature; who, notwithstanding all the changes which governments, manners, rites, and even the notions of Virtue, have undergone, and notwithstanding the improvements since made in Arts, could still abound with so many maxims correspondent to Truth, and notions applicable to so many Sciences. The fire, which is so observable in his Poem,

as to give every thing the most active appearance, may make us naturally conjecture him to have been of a warm temper, and lively behaviour; and the pleasurable air which every where overspreads it, may give us reason to think, that fire of imagination was tempered with sweetness and affability. If we farther observe the particulars he treats of, and imagine that he laid a stress upon the Sentiments he delivers, pursuant to his real opinions; we shall take him to be of a religious spirit, by his inculcating in almost every page the worship of the Gods. We shall imagine him to be a generous lover of his country, from his care to extol it every where; which is carried to such a height, as to make * Plutarch observe, That though many of the Barbarians are made prisoners or suppliants, yet neither of these disgraceful accidents (which are common to all nations in war) ever happens to one Greek throughout his works. We shall take him to be a compassionate lover of mankind, from his numberless praises of hospitality and charity; (if indeed we are not to account for them, as the common writers of his life ima-

* Plutarch *de Aud. Poetis.*

gine, from his owing his support to these virtues). It might seem from his love of stories, with his manner of telling them sometimes, that he gave his own picture when he painted his Nestor, and, as wise as he was, was no enemy to talking. One would think from his praises of wine, his copious goblets, and pleasing descriptions of banquets, that he was addicted to a cheerful, sociable life, which Horace takes notice of as a kind of tradition :

“ *Laudibus arguitur vini vincsus Homerus.*”

Ep. 19. l. 1.

And that he was not (as may be guessed of Virgil from his works) averse to the *female sex*, will appear from his care to paint them amiably upon all occasions : his Andromache and Penelope are in each of his Poems most shining characters of conjugal affection ; even his Helena herself is drawn with all the softnings imaginable ; his soldiers are exhorted to combat with the hopes of *women* ; his commanders are furnished with *fair slaves* in their tents, nor is the venerable Nestor without a *mistress*.

It is true, that in this way of turning a *book* into a *man*, this reasoning from his works

to himself, we can at best but hit off a few outlines of a character * : wherefore I shall carry it no farther, but conclude with one *discovery* which we may make from his *silence* ; a discovery extremely proper to be made in this manner, which is, That he was of a very modest temper. There is in all other Poets a custom of speaking of themselves, and a vanity of promising eternity to their writings, in both which Homer, who has the best title to speak out, is altogether silent. As to the last of them, the world has made him ample recompence ; it has given him that eternity he would not promise himself : but whatever endeavours have been offered in respect of the former, we find ourselves still under an irreparable loss. That which others have said of him has amounted to no more than conjecture ; that which I have said is no farther to be insisted on : I have used the liberty which may be indulged me by precedent, to give my own opinions, among the accounts of others, and the world may be pleased to receive them as so many willing endeavours to gratify its curiosity.

* It stood thus in the first edition :—“ a few *out-strokes* of a character : wherefore I shall *decline the carrying it into more minute points, and conclude—.*”

The only uncontestable works which Homer has left behind him are the *Iliad* and *Odysses*; the *Batrachomyomachia* or *Battle of the frogs and mice*, has been disputed, but is however allowed for his by many authors; amongst whom * Statius has reckoned it like the *Culex* of Virgil, a trial of his force before his greater performances. It is indeed a beautiful piece of raillery, in which a great writer might delight to unbend himself; an instance of that agreeable trifling, which has been at some time or other indulged by the finest geniuses, and the offspring of that amusing and chearful humour, which generally accompanies the character of a rich imagination, like a vein of *Mercury* running mingled with a mine of *Gold*.

Catalogue of
his Works.

THE *Hymns* have been doubted also, and attributed by the Scholiasts to Cynæthus the Rhapsodist; but neither † Thucydides, ‡ Lucian, nor § Pausanias, have scrupled to cite them as genuine ||. We have the authority of

* Statius *Præf. ad. Sylv.* 1. † Thucyd. 1. 3. ‡ Lucian. *Phalarid.* 2. § Pausan. *Bæotic.*

|| This amounts to no proof at all: the artificers of these hymns

the two former for that to Apollo, though it be observed that the word Νόμος is found in it, which the book *de Poesi Homerica* (ascribed to Plutarch) tells us, was not in use in Homer's time. We have also an authority of the last for a * *Hymn* to Ceres, of which he has given us a fragment. That to Mars is objected against for mentioning Τύρανον, and that which is the first to Minerva, for using Τυχῆ, both of them being (according to the author of the treatise before mentioned) words of a later invention. The *Hymn* to Venus has many of its lines copied by Virgil, in the interview between Æneas and that Goddess in the first Æneid. But whether these Hymns are Homer's, or not, they are always judged to be near as ancient, if not of the same age with him.

THE *Epigrams* are extracted out of the life said to be written by Herodotus, and we leave them as such to stand or fall with it; except the Epitaph on Midas, which is very ancient,

would not fail to favour the imposture by interweaving in the fabric such materials, as approved ancients had produced from the genuine compositions: and certain peculiarities of language, and innovations in the quantity of words upon the uniform usage of the *Iliad* and *Odysey*, are incontestible proofs of a later fabrication. Editor.

* Pauf. *Messen*.

quoted without its author both by * Plato and † Longinus, and (according to ‡ Laertius) ascribed by Simonides to Cleobulus the wise man ; who living after Homer, answers better to the age of Midas the son of Gordias.

THE *Margites*, which is lost, is said by § Aristotle to have been a Poem of a comic nature, wherein Homer made use of *Iambick* verses as proper for raillery. It was a jest upon the fair sex, and had its name from one Margites, a weak man, who was the subject of it. The story is something loose, as may be seen by the account of it still preserved in || Eustathius's Comment on the *Odysses*.

THE *Cercopes* was a satirical work, which is also lost ; we may however imagine it was levelled against the vices of men, if our conjecture be right that it was founded upon the ¶ old fable of *Cercopes*, a nation who were turned into *monkies* for their frauds and impostures.

THE *Destruction of Oechalia*, was a Poem

* Plat. in Phæd. † Longin. § 36. Edit. Tollii. ‡ Laertius in vitâ Cleobuli. § Arist. Poet. cap. 4. || Eustath. in Odyss. 10. ¶ Ovid, *Metam.* l. 14. de Cercop.

of which (according to Eustathius) Hercules was the Hero; and the subject, his ravaging that country; because Eurytus the King had denied him his daughter Iöle.

THE *Ilias Minor* was a piece which included both the taking of Troy, and the return of the Grecians: in this was the story of *Sinon*, which Virgil has made use of. * Aristotle has judged it not to belong to Homer.

THE *Cypriacks*, if it was upon them that Nævius founded his *Ilias Cypria*, (as † Mr. Dacier conjectures) were the *love adventures* of the ladies at the siege: these are rejected by ‡ Herodotus, for saying that Paris brought Helen to Troy in three days; whereas Homer asserts they were long driven from place to place.

THERE are other things ascribed to him, such as the *Heptapection* goat, the *Arachnomachia*, &c. in the ludicrous manner; and the *Thebais*, *Epigoni*, or second siege of *Thebes*, the *Phocais*, *Amazonia*, &c. in the serious: which, if they were his, are to be reputed a

* Arist. *Poet. cap. 24.*

† Dac. on Arist. *Poet. cap. 24.*

‡ Herod. *l. 2.*

real loss to the learned world. Time, in some things, may have prevailed over Homer himself, and left only the names of these works, as memorials that such were in being; but while the *Iliad* and *Odysses* remain, he seems like a leader, who *, though in his attempt of universal Conquest he may have lost his advanced guards, or some few stragglers in the rear, yet with his main body ever victorious, passes in triumph through all ages.

THE remains we have at present, of those Monuments Antiquity had framed for him, are but few. It could not be thought that they who knew so little of the *life* of Homer, could have a right knowledge of his *person*: yet they had statues of him as of their Gods, whose forms they had never seen. “*Quinimò quæ non sunt, finguntur* (says † Pliny) *pariuntque desideria non traditi vultûs, sicut in Homero evenit.*” But though the ancient portraits of him seem purely notional, yet they agree (as I think

Monuments,
Coins, Marbles,
remaining of
him.

* This paragraph is much improved from the first edition:—
“who, though he may have failed in a skirmish, has carried a
“victory, for which he passes in triumph through all future ages.”

† Pliny, l. 35, c. 2.

* Fabretti has observed) in representing him with a short curled beard, and distinct marks of age in his forehead. That which is prefixed to this book, is taken from an ancient marble bust, in the palace of Farnese at Rome.

IN Bollissus near Chios there is a ruin, which was shewn for the house of Homer, which † Leo Allatius went on pilgrimage to visit, and (as he tells us) found nothing but a few stones crumbling away with age, over which he and his companions wept for satisfaction.

THEY erected Temples to Homer in Smyrna, as appears from ‡ Cicero; one of these is supposed to be yet extant, and the same which they shew for the Temple of Janus. It agrees with § Strabo's description, a square building of stone, near a river, thought to be the Meles, with two doors opposite to each other, North and South, and a large Niche within the east wall, where the image stood: but M. Spon denies this to be the true *Homereum*.

* Raph. Fabret. *Explicatio Veteris Tabellæ Anaglyphæ Hom. Iliad.* † Leo. Allat. *de patria Hom. cap. 13.* ‡ Cicero *pro Archia.* § Strabo, l. 14. Τὸ Ὅμηρον εἰς τετραγώνῳ ἔχοντι οὐκ ὅμοιον καὶ ἑοικότερον, &c. *de Smyrna.*

OF the medals struck for him, there are some both of Chios and Smyrna still in being, and exhibited at the beginning of this Essay. The most valuable with respect to the largeness of the head, is that of Amastris, which is carefully copied from an original belonging to the present Earl of Pembroke, and is the same which Gronovius, Cuperus, and Dacier have copies of, but very incorrectly performed.

BUT that which of all the remains has been of late the chief amusement of the learned, is the marble called his *Apotheosis*, the work of Archelaus of Prienne, and now in the palace of Colonna. We see there a Temple hung with its veil, where Homer is placed on a seat with a footstool to it, as he has described the seats of his Gods; supported on each side with figures representing the *Iliad* and the *Odysses*, the one by a sword, the other by the ornaments of a ship, which denotes the voyages of Ulysses. On each side of his foot-stool are *mice*, in allusion to the *Batrachomyomachia*. Behind is *Time* waiting upon him, and a figure with turrets on his head, which signifies the *World*, crowning him with the Laurel. Before him is an altar, at which all the *Arts*

are sacrificing to him as to their Deity. On one side of the altar stands a boy, representing *Mythology*; on the other a woman, representing *History*: after her is *Poetry* bringing the *sacred fire*; and in a long following train, *Tragedy*, *Comedy*, *Nature*, *Virtue*, *Memory*, *Rhetorick*, and *Wisdom*, in all their proper Attitudes.

AN ESSAY ON HOMER.

S E C T. II.

HAVING now finished what was proposed concerning the history of Homer's life, I shall proceed to that of his works ; and considering him no longer as a *Man*, but as an *Author*, prosecute the thread of his story in this his second life, through the different degrees of esteem which those writings have obtained in different periods of time.

IT has been the fortune of several great geniuses not to be known while they lived, either for want of historians, the meanness of fortune, or the love of retirement, to which a poetical temper is peculiarly addicted *. Yet after death their works give themselves a life

* So Horace, Epist. ii. 2.

Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus, et fugit urbes,
Rite cliens Bacchi, somno gaudentis et umbrâ :

Thus gracefully exhibited by our poet :

Alas ! to grottos and to groves we run,
To ease and silence, every Muse's son,

Editor.

in Fame *, without the help of an historian ; and, notwithstanding the meanness of their author, or his love of retreat, they go forth among mankind, the glories of that age which produced them, and the delight of those which follow it. This is a fate particularly verified in Homer, than whom no considerable author is less known as to himself, or more highly valued as to his productions.

The first publication of his Works by Lycurgus.

THE earliest account of these is said by † Plutarch to be some time after his death, when Lycurgus failed to Asia : “ There he had the first sight
“ of Homer’s works, which were probably
“ preserved by the grand-children of Creophilus ; and having observed that their pleasurable air of fiction did not hinder the poet’s
“ abounding in maxims of state, and rules of
“ morality, he transcribed and carried with
“ him that entire collection we have now
“ among us.” For at that time (continues this author) “ there was only an obscure ru-

* Elsewhere stiled by our enchanting author :

————— that second life in other’s breath ;

Th’ estate that wits inherit after death. Editor.

† Plut. vit. Lycurgi.

“mour in Greece to the reputation of these
“Poems, and but a few scattered fragments
“handed about, ’till Lycurgus published them
“entire.” Thus they were in danger of being
lost as soon as they were produced, by the
misfortune of the age, a want of taste for
learning, or the manner in which they were
left to posterity, when they fell into the hands
of Lycurgus. He was a man of great learning,
a law-giver to a people divided and untract-
able, and one who had a notion that poetry
influenced and civilized the minds of men;
which made him smoothe the way to his consti-
tution by the songs of Thales the Cretan,
whom he engaged to write upon obedience and
concord. As he proposed to himself, that the
constitution he would raise upon this their
union should be of a martial nature, these
poems were of an extraordinary value to him:
for they came with a full force into his scheme;
the moral they inspired was unity; the air
they breathed was martial; and their story
had this particular engagement for the Lace-
dæmonians, that it shewed Greece in war, and
Asia subdued under the conduct of one of their
own Monarchs, who commanded all the Gre-
cian Princes. Thus the Poet both pleased the
law-giver, and the people; from whence he

had a double influence when the laws were settled. For his Poem then became a Panegyrick on their constitution, as well as a Register of their glory ; and confirmed them in the love of it by a gallant description of those qualities and actions for which it was adapted. This made * Cleomenes call him *The Poet of the Lacedæmonians* : and therefore when we remember that Homer owed the publication of his works to Lycurgus, we should grant too, that Lycurgus owed in some degree the enforcement of his laws to the works of Homer.

Their reception
in Greece.

AT their first appearance in Greece, they were not reduced † into a regular body, but remained as they were brought over, in several separate pieces, called (according to ‡ Ælian) from the subject on which they treated ; as the *battle at the ships*, the *death of Dolon*, the *valour of Agamemnon*, the *Patroclea*, the *grot of Calypso*, the *slaughter of the Wooers*, and the like. Nor were these

* Plutarch, *Apophtheg.*

† *Reduced* : in the first edition, *digested* ; a word, more applicable to something originally confused, and therefore judiciously supplanted by one, that inferred a *restitution* to order and regularity. Editor.

‡ Ælian, l. 13. cap. 14.

entitled *Books*, but *Rhapsodies* * ; from whence they who sung them had the title of *Rhapsodists*. It was in this manner they began to be dispersed, while their poetry, their history, the glory they ascribed to Greece in general, the particular description they gave of it, and the compliment they paid to every little state by an honourable mention, so influenced all, that they were transcribed and sung with general approbation. But what seems to have most recommended them was, that Greece which could not be great in its divided condition, looked upon the fable of them as a likely plan of future grandeur. They seem from thenceforward to have had an eye upon the conquest of Asia, as a proper undertaking, which by its importance might occasion union enough to give a diversion from civil wars, and by its prosecution bring in an acquisition of honour and empire. This is the meaning of † Isocrates,

* That is, poetry, or songs, stitched in detached portions, by a division of the entire work ; whence the modern application of the term to *wild* and *incoherent* effusions, in a disparaging acceptance. Editor.

† Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν μείζω λαβεῖν δόξαν, ὅτι καλῶς τὰς πολεμήσαντας τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνεκωμίασε· καὶ διὰ τῆτο βεληθῆναι τὰς Προγόνους ἡμῶν ἐντιμὸν αὐτῶν ποιῆσαι τὴν τέχνην, ἐν τε τοῖς τῆς μουσικῆς ἀθλοῖς, καὶ τῇ παιδείᾳ τῶν νεωτέρων· ἵνα πολλάκις ἀκούοντες τῶν ἐπῶν, ἐκμανθάνωμεν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὰς ὑπάρχουσαν, καὶ ζηλῶντες τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν στρατευσαμένων ἐπὶ Τροίαν τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων ἐκείνοις ἐπιθυμῶμεν. Isocrat. *Paneg.*

when he tells us, “ That Homer’s poetry was
 “ in the greater esteem, because it gave exceed-
 “ ing praise to those who fought against the
 “ Barbarians. Our ancestors (continues he)
 “ honoured it with a place in education and
 “ musical contests, that by often hearing it
 “ we should have a notion of an original
 “ enmity between us and those nations ; and
 “ that admiring the virtue of those who fought
 “ at Troy, we should be induced to emulate
 “ their glory.” And indeed they never quitted
 this thought, ’till they had successfully carried
 their arms wherever Homer might thus excite
 them.

Digested into BUT while his works were suf-
 order at Athens. fered to lie in a distracted * man-
 ner, the chain of story was not always per-
 ceived, so that they lost much of their force
 and beauty by being read disorderly. Where-
 fore as Lacedæmon had the first honour of
 their publication by Lycurgus, that of their
 regulation fell to the share of Athens in the

* In the first edition :—“ an *unconnected* manner.” And the
 word *digested*, so properly superseded above, seems to have been
 left by an oversight in the margin ; and in the text below ; so that,
 if I am not mistaken in my former criticism, I have endeavoured to
 confer a credit on my author’s discernment, to which he was not
 entitled : a too common lot of commentators!

time of * Solon, who himself made a law for their recital. It was then that Pisistratus, the Tyrant of Athens, who was a man of great learning and eloquence, (as † Cicero has it) first put together the confused parts of Homer, according to that regularity in which they are now handed down to us. He divided them into the two different Works, entitled the Iliad and Odysses; he digested each according to the Author's design, to make their plans become evident; and distinguished each again into twenty-four books, to which were afterwards prefixed the twenty-four letters. There is a passage indeed in ‡ Plato, which takes this Work from Pisistratus, by giving it to his son Hipparchus; with this addition, that he commanded them to be sung at the feast called Panathenæa. Perhaps it may be, as § Leo Allatius has imagined, because the son published the copy more correctly: this he offers, to reconcile so great a testimony as Plato's to the cloud of wit-

* Diog. Laert. *vit.* Sol. † Quis doctior iisdem illis temporibus, aut cujus eloquentia literis instructior quàm Pisistrati? Qui primus Homeri libros, confusos antea, sic disposuisse dicitur ut nunc habemus. Cic. de Orat. l. 3. Vide etiam *Æl.* l. 13. cap. 14. Liban. Panegy. in Jul. Anonymam Homeri vitam. Fusiùs verò in Commentatoribus Dyon. Thracis.

‡ Plato in Hipparcho. § Leo Allatius de *patriâ Hom.* cap. 5.

nesses which are against him in it: but be that as it will, Athens still claims its proper honour of rescuing the father of learning from the injuries of time, of having restored Homer to himself, and given the world a view of him in his perfection. So that if his verses were before admired for their *use* and *beauty*, as the stars were, before they were considered scientifically as a system*, they are now admired much more for their graceful harmony, and that sphere of order in which they appear to move. They became thenceforward more the pleasure of the wits of Greece, more the subject of their studies, and the employment of their pens.

ABOUT the time that this new edition of Homer was published in Athens, there was one Cynæthus, a learned Rhapsodist, who (as the † Scholiast of Pindar informs us) settled first at Syracuse in that employment; and if (as Leo Allatius believes) he had been before an assistant in the edition, he may be supposed

* Originally:—"as the stars were, before they were considered "*in a system of science*, they are—." And the reader will admire with me, not the elegance only, but the sublimity, of this comparison. Editor.

† Schol. Pind. in *Nem. Od.* 2.

to have first carried it abroad. But it was not long preserved correct among his followers; they committed mistakes in their transcriptions and repetitions, and had even the presumption to alter some lines, and interpolate others. Thus the works of Homer ran the danger of being utterly defaced; which made it become the concern of Kings and Philosophers, that they should be restored to their primitive beauty.

IN the front of these is Alexander the Great, for whom they will appear peculiarly calculated, if we consider that no books more enliven or flatter personal valour, which was great in him to what we call romantick: neither has any book more places applicable to his designs on Asia, or (as it happened) to his actions there. It was then no ill compliment in * Aristotle to purge the Iliad, upon his account, from those errors and additions which had crept into it. And so far was Alexander himself from esteeming it a matter of small importance, that he

The Edition in
Macedon under
Alexander.

* Plut. *in vitâ Alexandri.*

afterwards * assisted in a strict review of it with Anaxarchus and Callisthenes ; whether it was merely because he esteemed it a treasury of military virtue and knowledge ; or that (according to a late ingenious conjecture) he had a farther aim in promoting the propagation of it, when he was ambitious to be esteemed a son of Jupiter ; as a book which treating of the sons of the Gods, might make the intercourse between them and mortals become a familiar notion. The review being finished, he laid it up in a casket, which was found among the spoils of Darius, as what best deserved so inestimable a case ; and from this circumstance it was named, *The Edition of the Casket*.

Editions in
Ægypt.

THE place where the works of Homer were next found in the greatest regard, is Ægypt, under the reign of the Ptolemies. These Kings being descended from Greece, retained always a passion for their original country. The men, the books, the qualifications of it, were in esteem in their court ; they preserved the language in their

* Φέρεται γὰρ τις διόρθωσις τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως ἢ ἐκ τῆς Νάρθηκος λεβομένη τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου μετὰ τῆς περὶ Καλλισθένην καὶ Ἀνάξαρχον ἐπελθόντι, καὶ ζημειωσαμένῃ ἐπειὶα καταθέντι εἰς Νάρθηκα ὃν εὔρεν ἐν Περσικῇ γάζῃ πολυτελῶς κατασκευασμένον. Strabo, lib. 13.

family; they encouraged a concourse of learned men; erected the greatest library in the world; and trained up their princes under Græcian tutors; among whom the most considerable were appointed for revisers of Homer. The first of these was * Zenodotus, library-keeper to the first Ptolemy, and qualified for this undertaking by being both a Poet and a Grammarian: a compounded character, in which there was fancy for a discovery of beauties, and a minuter judgment for a detection of faults. But neither his copy nor that which his disciple Aristophanes had made, satisfying Aristarchus, (whom Ptolemy Philometor had appointed over his son Euergetes,) he set himself to another correction with all the wit and learning he was master of. He restored some verses to their former readings, rejected others which he marked with *obelisks* as spurious, and proceeded with such industrious accuracy, that, notwithstanding there were some who wrote against his performance, antiquity has generally acquiesced in it. Nay, so far have they carried their opinion in his favour, as to call a man

* Suidas.

an * Aristarchus, when they meant to say a candid, judicious Critick †; in the same manner as they call the contrary a Zoilus, from that Zoilus who about this time wrote an envious criticism against Homer. And now we mention these two together, I fancy it will be no small pleasure to the benevolent part of mankind, to see how their fortunes and characters stand in contrast to each other, for examples to future ages, at the head of the two contrary sorts of criticism, which proceed from good-nature, or from ill-will. The one was honoured with the offices and countenance of the court; the other ‡, when he applied to the same place for an encouragement amongst the men of learning, had his petition rejected with contempt. The one had his fame continued to posterity; the other is only remembered with infamy. If the one had antagonists, they were obliged to pay him the deference of a formal answer; the other was never answered.

* Arguet ambiguè dictum; mutanda notabit;

Fiet *Aristarchus*———Horat. *Ars Poetica*.

† Rather, a precise, discerning, and judicious critic; who shewed no indulgence to false sentiment, ill-constructed verse, or vicious composition. Editor.

‡ Vitruv. l. 7, in *Proæm*.

but in general, with those opprobrious names of *Thracian slave* and *rhetorical dog*. The one is supposed to have his copy still remaining; while the other's remarks are perished*, as things that men were ashamed to preserve, the just desert of whatever arises from the miserable principles of ill-will or envy.

IT was not the ambition of Ægypt only to have a correct edition of Homer. We find in the life of † the poet Aratus, that he having finished a copy of the *Odyſſey*, was ſent for by Antiochus king of Syria, and entertained by him while he finished one of the *Iliad*. We read too of others which were published with the names of countries; ſuch as the ‡ *Maſſaliotick* and *Sinopick*; as if the world were agreed to make his works in their ſurvival undergo the ſame fate with himſelf; and that as different cities contended for his birth, ſo they might again contend for his

In Syria and
other parts
of Aſia.

* Not altogether: one of his ſayings, for example, is preſerved by Longinus in the 9th ſection of his treatiſe on the ſublime; who tells us that Zoilus, alluding to *Odyſſ. x. 241*. called the companions of Ulyſſes, whom Circe transformed into ſwine, *weeping porkets*. Editor.

† *Author vitæ Arati*, & Suidas in *Arate*.

‡ Eufſtathius *initio Iliados*.

true edition. But though these reviews were not confined to Ægypt, the greatest honour was theirs, in that universal approbation which the performance of Aristarchus received; and if it be not his edition which we have at present, we know not to whom to ascribe it.

In India and
Persia.

BUT the world was not contented barely to have settled an edition of his works. There were innumerable comments, in which they were opened like a treasury of learning; and translations, whereby other languages became enriched by an infusion of his spirit of poetry. * Ælian tells us, that even the Indians had them in their tongue, and the Persian kings sung them in theirs. † Persius mentions a version into Latin by Labeo; and in general the passages and imitations which are taken from him, are so numerous, that he may be said to have been translated by piece-meal into that, and all other languages: which affords us this remark, that there is hardly any thing in him, which has not been pitched upon by some author or other for a particular beauty.

* Ælian, *l.* 12. *cap.* 48.

† Persius, *Sat.* 1.

IT is almost incredible to what an height the idea of that veneration the ancients paid to Homer will arise, to one who reads particularly with this view, through all these periods. He was no sooner come from his obscurity, but Greece received him with delight and profit: there were then but few books to divide their attention, and none which had a better title to engross it all. They made some daily discoveries of his beauties which were still promoted in their different channels by the favourite qualities of different nations. Sparta and Macedon considered him most in respect of his *warlike spirit*; Athens and Ægypt with regard to his *poetry* and *learning*; and all their endeavours united under the hands of the learned, to make him blaze forth into an universal character. His works, which from the beginning passed for excellent *poetry*, grew to be *history* and *geography*; they rose to be a *magazine* of *sciences*; were exalted into a *scheme* of *religion*; gave a sanction to whatever rites they mentioned, were quoted in all cases for the conduct of private life, and the decision of all questions of the law of nations; nay, learned by heart as the very book of belief

The extent and height of their reputation in the Heathen world.

and practice. From him the *Poets* drew their inspirations, the *Criticks* their rules, and the *Philosophers* a defence of their opinions. Every author was fond to use his name, and every profession writ books upon him, 'till they swelled to libraries. The warriors formed themselves by his Heroes, and the oracles delivered his verses for answers. Nor was mankind satisfied to have thus seated his character at the top of human wisdom, but being overborn with an imagination that he transcended their species, they admitted him to share in those honours they gave the Deities. They instituted games for him, dedicated statues, erected temples, as at Smyrna, Chios, and Alexandria; and *Ælian tells us, that when the Argives sacrificed with their guests, they used to invoke the presence of Apollo and Homer together.

The decline of
their character
in the begin-
ning of Christi-
anity. Thus he was settled on a foot of
adoration, and continued highly
venerated in the Roman empire,
when Christianity began. Heathen-
ism was then to be destroyed, and Homer ap-
peared the father of it; whose fictions were at

* Ælian, l. 9. cap. 15.

once the belief of the Pagan religion, and the objections of Christianity against it. He became therefore very deeply involved in the question; and not with that honour which hitherto attended him, but as a criminal who had drawn the world into folly. He was on one hand accused for having framed * fables upon the works of Moses; as the rebellion of the giants from the building of Babel, and the casting *Ate* or *Strife* out of heaven from the fall of Lucifer. He was exposed on the other hand for those which he is said to invent, as when † Arnobius cries out, “ This is the man
 “ who wounded your Venus, imprisoned your
 “ Mars, who freed even your Jupiter by
 “ Briareus, and who finds authorities for all
 “ your vices,” &c. Mankind was ‡ derided for whatever he had hitherto made them believe; and § Plato, who expelled him his commonwealth, has, of all the Philosophers, found the best quarter from the fathers, for passing that sentence. His finest beauties began to take a new appearance of pernicious qualities; and because they might be considered

* Justin Martyr, *Admonit. ad gentes*. † Arnobius *adversus gentes*, l. 7. ‡ Vid. Tertull. *Apoll. cap.* 14. § Arnobius, *ibid.* Eusebius *præp. Evangel.* l. 14. cap. 10.

as allurements to fancy, or supports to those errors with which they were mingled, they were to be depreciated while the contest of Faith was in being. It was hence, that the reading them was discouraged, that we hear Ruffinus accusing St. Jerome for it, and that* St. Austin rejects him as the grand master of fable; though indeed the *dulcissimè vanus* which he applies to Homer, looks but like a fondling manner of parting with them.

THIS strong attack against our author, as the great bulwark of Paganism, obliged those Philosophers who could have acquiesced as his admirers, to appear as his defenders; who because they saw the fables could not be literally supported, endeavoured to find a hidden sense, and to carry on every where that vein of *allegory*, which was already broken open with success in some places. But how miserably were they forced to shifts, when they made † Juno's dressing in the Cestus for Jupiter, to signify the purging of the *air* as it approached the *fire*? Or the story of Mars and Venus, that inclination they have to incontinency who are born when these planets are in

* St. August. *Confess.* l. 1. cap. 14. † Plutarch *on reading the Poets.*

conjunction? Wit and learning had here a large field to display themselves, and to disagree in; for sometimes Jupiter, and sometimes Vulcan was made to signify the *fire*; or Mars and Venus were allowed to give us a lecture of *Morality* at one time, and a problem of *Astronomy* at another. And these strange discoveries, which *Porphyry* * and the rest would have to pass for the genuine *theology* of the Greeks, prove but (as Eusebius † terms it) the perverting of fables into a mystick sense. They did indeed often defend Homer, but then they allegorized away their Gods by doing so. What the world took for substantial objects of adoration, dissolved before its eyes into a figurative meaning, a moral truth, or a piece of learning, which might equally correspond to any religion; and the learned at last had left themselves nothing to worship, when they came to find an object in Christianity.

THE dispute of faith being over, ancient learning reassumed its dig-
 nity, and Homer obtained his pro-
 per place in the esteem of mankind.

Restoration of
Homer's works
to their just cha-
racter.

His books are now no longer the scheme of a

* Porphyrius *de Antro Nymph*, &c. † Eusebii *Præpar. Evangel.*
l. 3. cap. 1.

living religion, but become the register of one of former times. They are not now received for a rule of life, but valued for those just observations which are dispersed through them. They are no longer pronounced from oracles, but quoted still by authors for their learning. Those remarks which the Philosophers made upon them, have their weight with us; those beauties which the Poets dwelt upon, their admiration: and even after the abatement of what was extravagant in his run of praise, he remains confessedly a mighty genius not transcended by any which have since arisen; a Prince*, as well as a Father, of *Poetry*.

* According to the testimony of those glorious verses in Lucretius, book iii :

Adde repertoires doctrinarum atque leporum,

Adde Heliconiadum comites ; quorum unus Homerus,

Sceptra potitus, eâdem aliis sopitus quiete est :

which Dryden has rendered in his free and desultory manner, but
“ with a master’s hand and prophet’s fire :”

The founders of invented arts are lost,

And wits, who made eternity their boast.

Where now is Homer, who possess’d the throne ?

Th’ immortal work remains, the mortal author gone !

Editor.

S E C T. III.

IT remains in this historical essay, A view of the learning of Homer's time. to regulate our present opinion of Homer by a view of his learning, compared with that of his age. For this end he may first be considered as a poet, that character which was his professedly ; and secondly as one endowed with other sciences, which must be spoken of, not as in themselves, but as in subserviency to his main design. Thus he will be seen on his right foot of perfection in one view, and with the just allowances which should be made on the other. While we pass through the several heads of science, the state of those times in which he writ will show us both the impediments he rose under, and the reasons why several things in him which have been objected to, either could not, or should not be otherwise than they are.

As for the state of *Poetry*, it was In Poetry. at a low pitch in the age of Homer. There is mention of Orpheus, Linus, and

Musæus, venerable names in antiquity, and eminently celebrated in fable for the wonderful power of their songs and musick. The learned Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca Græca*, has reckoned about seventy who are said to have written before Homer; but their works were not preserved, and that is a sort of proof they were not excellent *. What sort of Poets Homer saw in his own time, may be gathered from his description of † Demodocus and Phemius, whom he has introduced as opportunities to celebrate his profession. The imperfect risings of the art lay then among the *extempore* singers of stories at banquets, who were half singers, half musicians. Nor was the name of poet then in being, or once used throughout Homer's works. From this poor state of poetry, he has taken a handle to usher it into the world with the boldest stroke of praise which has ever been given it. It is in the eighth *Odyssæy*, where Ulysses puts Demodocus upon a trial of skill. Demodocus having diverted the guests with some actions of the

* Thus at first :—“ but their works were not preserved, and *can only be considered (if they were really excellent) as the happiness of their own generation.*”—The candour of which statement pleases me better than the substitution. Editor.

† *Od.* 1st. and *Od.* 8th.

Trojan war ; “ * All this (says Ulysses) you
“ have sung very elegantly, as if you had
“ either been present, or heard it reported ;
“ but pass now to a subject I shall give you,
“ sing the management of Ulysses in the
“ wooden horse, just as it happened, and I
“ will acknowledge the Gods have taught you
“ your songs.” This the singer being inspired
from heaven begins immediately, and Ulysses
by weeping at the recital confesses the truth of
it. We see here a narration which could only
pass upon an age extremely ignorant in the
nature of Poetry, where that claim of inspira-
tion is given to it which it has never since laid
down, and (which is more) a power of pro-
phesying at pleasure ascribed to it. Thus much
therefore we gather from himself, concerning
the most ancient state of Poetry in Greece ;
that no one was honoured with the name of
Poet, before him whom it has especially
belonged to ever after. And if we farther
appeal to the consent of authors, we find he
has other titles for being called the first.
† Josephus observes, That the Greeks have
not contested, but he was the most ancient,

* Odyss. l. viii, ver. 487, &c.

† Joseph. *contra* Appion, l. 1.

whose books they had in writing. * Aristotle says, He was the “ first who brought all the “ parts of a poem into one piece,” to which he adds, “ and with true judgment,” to give him a praise including both the invention and perfection †. Whatever was serious or magnificent made a part of his subject : war and peace were the comprehensive division in which he considered the world ; and the plans of his poems were founded on the most active scenes of each, the adventures of a siege, and the accidents of a voyage. For these, his spirit was equally active and various, lofty in expression, clear in narration, natural in description, rapid in action, abundant in figures. If ever he appears less than himself, it is from the time he writ in ; and if he runs into errors, it is from an excess, rather than a defect of genius. Thus he rose over the poetical world, shining out like a sun all at once ; which if it

* Arist. *Poet. cap.* 25.

† This followed in the first edition :—“ And Horace acquaints us, that he invented the very measure which is called *Heroick* from the subjects on which he employed it :

“ Res gestæ regumque, ducumque, et fortia bella,

“ Quo scribi possint numero monstravit Homerus.”

Which he properly suppressed, as too strong a conclusion for the premises. Editor.

sometimes make too *faint* an appearance, it is to be ascribed only to the unkindness of the season that clouds and obscures it *, and if he is sometimes too *violent*, we confess at the same time that we owe all things to his heat.

As for his *Theology*, we see the
Heathen system entirely followed. Theology.

This was all he could then have to work upon, and where he fails of truth for want of revelation, he at least shews his knowledge in his own religion by the traditions he delivers. But we are now upon a point to be farther handled, because the greatest controversy concerning the merit of Homer depends upon it. Let us consider then, that there was an age in Greece, when natural reason only discovered in general, that there must be something superior to us, and corrupt tradition had affixed the notion to a number of deities. At this time Homer rose with the finest turn imaginable for poetry, who designing to instruct mankind in the manner for which he was most adapted †, made use

* It stood originally thus :—" it is to be ascribed only to the
" necessity of the season, that keeps it at a distance ; and if—."

† Thus in the first edition :—" adapted, writ poems wherein he
" made use of the ministry of the gods to give the highest air of
" surprise and veneration to his writings. He found the religion of

of the ministry of the Gods to give the highest air of veneration to his writings. He found the Religion of mankind consisting of Fables ; and their Morality and Political Instruction delivered in Allegories. Nor was it his business when he undertook the province of a Poet, (not of a mere Philosopher) to be the first who should discard that which furnishes Poetry with its most beautiful appearance : and especially, since the age he lived in, by discovering its taste, had not only given him authority, but even put him under the necessity of preserving it. Whatever therefore he might think of his Gods, he took them as he found them : he brought them into action according to the notions which were then entertained, and in such stories as were then believed ; unless we imagine so great an absurdity, as that he invented every thing he delivers. Yet there are several rays of truth streaming through all this darkness, in those sentiments he entertains concerning the Providence of the Gods, delivered in several allegories lightly veiled over, from whence the learned afterwards pretended to

*“ mankind wrapt up in fables ; it was thought then the easiest way to
“ convey morals to the people, who were allured to attention by pleasure,
“ and awed with the opinion of a hidden mystery. Nor was it—.”*

draw new knowledges, each according to his power of penetration and fancy. But that we may the better comprehend him in all the parts of this general view, let us extract from him a scheme of his religion.

HE has a Jupiter, a *father of Gods and men*, to whom he applies several attributes, as wisdom, justice, knowledge, power, &c. which are essentially inherent to the idea of a God. * He has given him two *vessels*, out of which he distributes natural *good* or *evil* for the life of man: he places the Gods in council round him: he makes † *Prayers* pass to and fro before him; and mankind adore him with sacrifice. But all this grand appearance wherein poetry paid a deference to reason, is dashed and mingled with the imperfection of our nature; not only with the applying our passions to the Supreme Being (for men have always been treated with this compliance to their notions) but that he is not even exempted from our common appetites and frailties: for he is made to eat, drink and sleep: but this his admirers would imagine to be only a grosser way of representing a general notion of happiness, because he says in one place,

* Iliad, xxiv ver. 527. † Iliad, ix. ver. 498.

* that the food of the Gods was not of the same nature with ours. But upon the whole, while he endeavoured to speak of a deity without a right information, he was forced to take him from that image he discovered in *man*; and (like one who being dazzled with the sun in the heavens, would view him as he is reflected in a river) he has taken off the impresson not only ruffled with the emotion of our passions, but obscured with the earthy mixture of our natures †.

THE other Gods have all their provinces assigned them; “ Every thing has its peculiar deity, says ‡ Maximus Tyrius, by which Homer would insinuate that the Godhead “ was present to all things.” When they are considered farther, we find he has turned the virtues and endowments of our minds into *persons*, to make the springs of action become visible; and because they are given by the Gods, he represents them as Gods themselves descending from heaven. In the same strong

* Iliad, v. ver. 340.

† This is one of the happiest *similes* in point of correspondence, and one of the grandest in it's conception, that occurs to my memory. Editor.

‡ Maxim. Tyrius, *Diff.* 16.

light he shews our vices, when they occasion misfortunes, like extraordinary powers which inflict them upon us ; and even our natural punishments are represented as punishers themselves. But when we come to see the manner they are introduced in, they are found feasting, fighting, wounded by men, and shedding a sort of blood *, in which his machines play a little too grossly : the fable which was admitted to procure the pleasure of surprise, violently oppresses the moral, and it may be lost labour to search for it in every minute circumstance, if indeed it was intended to be there. The general strokes are however philosophical, the dress the poet's, which was used for convenience, and allowed to be ornamental †. And

* Longinus, in his ixth section, reflects on this subject with much dignity and good sense. “ These indeed are exhibitions calculated to raise terror, but, unless conceived as allegorical, are prophane and indecorous. For Homer appears to me, in relating the wounds of the gods, their dissensions, their acts of revenge, their tears, their bonds, and all their varieties of suffering, to have made his men in the Iliad as like gods as possible, and his gods like men.”—Nor will the reader be displeased with an observation of Cicero's on the subject : Tusc. disp. i. 26. Fingebat hæc Homerus, et humana ad deos transferebat : divina malem ad nos. “ These were the fictions of Homer, thus transferring the affections of man to the Gods : I should have been better pleased, had he given man the perfections of divinity.”

† The sentence ran thus originally :—“ The *main design* was

something still may be offered in his defence, if he has both preserved the grand moral from being obscured, and adorned the parts of his works with such sentiments of the Gods as belonged to the age he lived in ; which that he did, appears from his having then had that success for which allegory was contrived. “ It is
 “ the madness of men, says * Maximus Ty-
 “ rius, to dis-esteem what is plain, and admire
 “ what is hidden ; this the poets discovering
 “ invented the fable for a remedy, when they
 “ treated of holy matters ; which being more
 “ obscure than conversation, and more clear
 “ than the riddle, is a mean between know-
 “ ledge and ignorance ; believed partly for
 “ being agreeable, and partly for being won-
 “ derful. Thus as Poets in name, and philo-
 “ sopher in effect, they drew mankind gradu-
 “ ally to a search after truth, when the name
 “ of philosopher would have been harsh and
 “ displeasing.”

WHEN Homer proceeds to tell us our duty to these superiour beings, we find prayer,

“ however philosophical, the dress the poet’s, which is used for
 “ necessity, and allowed to be ornamental.”

* Maxim. Tyrius, *Diff.* 29.

sacrifice, lustration, and all the rites which were esteemed religious, constantly recommended under fear of their displeasure. We find too a notion of the soul's subsisting after this life, but for want of revelation he knows not what to reckon the happiness of a future state, to any one who was not deified: which is plain from the speech of * Achilles to Ulysses in the region of the dead; where he tells him, that "he would rather serve the
 "poorest creature upon earth, than rule over
 "all the departed." It was chiefly for this reason that Plato excluded him his commonwealth; he thought Homer spoke indecently of the Gods, and dreadfully of a future state†: but if he cannot be defended in every thing as a theologist, yet we may say in respect of his poetry, that he has enriched it from theology with true sentiments for profit; adorned it with allegories for pleasure; and by using some machines which have no farther significance, or are so refined as to make it doubted if they have any, he has however produced that character in poetry which we call the

* Odyss. xi. ver. 488.

† Then followed in the first edition:—"In which sentence he
 "made no allowance for the times he writ in. But—"

Marvellous, and from which the *Agreeable* (according to Aristotle) is always inseparable.

Politicks. IF we take the state of Greece at his time in a political view, we find it a * difunited country, made up of small states; and whatever was managed in war amounted to no more than intestine skirmishes, or piracies abroad, which were easily revenged on account of their dis-union. Thus one people stole Europa, and another Iö; the Grecians took Hefione from Troy, and the Trojans took Helena from Greece in revenge. But this last having greater friends and alliances than any upon whom the rapes had hitherto fallen, the ruin of Troy was the consequence; and the force of the Asiatick coasts was so broken, that this accident put a stop † to the age of piracies. Then the intestine broils of Greece (which had been discontinued during the league) were renewed upon its dissolution. War and sedition moved people from place to place, during its want of inhabitants; Exiles from one country were received for Kings in an-

* See Thucydides, *lib.* 1.

† *A stop*: but in the first edition much better, *an end*: unless we have here a typographical error for, “put a *stop* to the *rage* of “piracies.”

other ; and Leaders took tracts of ground to bestow them upon their followers. Commerce was neglected, living at home unsafe, and nothing of moment transacted by any but against their neighbours. Athens only, where the people were undisturbed because it was a barren soil which nobody coveted, had begun to send colonies abroad, being over-stocked with inhabitants.

Now a poem coming out at such a time, with a moral capable of healing these disorders by promoting *Union*, we may reasonably think it was designed for that end, to which it is so peculiarly adapted. If we imagine therefore that Homer was a politician in this affair, we may suppose him to have looked back into the ages past, to see if at any time these disorders had been less ; and to have pitched upon that story, wherein they found a temporary cure ; that by celebrating it with all possible honour he might instil a desire of the same sort of union into the hearts of his countrymen. This indeed was a work which could belong to none but a poet, when Governors had power only over small territories, and the numerous Governments were every way independent. It was then that all the charms of poetry were

called forth, to insinuate the important glory of an alliance; and the Iliad delivered as an Oracle from the Muses, with all the pomp of words and artificial influence. Union among themselves was recommended, peace at home, and glory abroad; and lest general precepts should be rendered useless by misapplications*, he gives minute and particular lessons concerning it: how when his Kings quarrel, their subjects suffer; when they act in conjunction, victory attends them: therefore when they meet in council, plans are drawn, and provisions made for future action; and when in the field, the arts of war are described with the greatest exactness. These were lectures of general concern to mankind, proper for the poet to deliver, and Kings to attend to; such as made Porphyry write of the profit that princes might receive from Homer; and Stratoctes, Hermias, and Frontinus†, extract military discipline out of him. Thus though Plato has banished him from one imaginary

* Originally;—"by *mismanagements*, he lets us into farther lessons concerning it."

† I do not recollect any thing of this kind in *Frontinus*: but in all these authorities our poet speaks only at second hand, and his testimony must always be received with proportionate mistrust. See, however, *Frontin.* ii. 3. 21. Editor.

commonwealth, he has still been serviceable to many real kingdoms.

THE morality of Greece could not be perfect while there was a Morality. natural weakness in its government; faults in politicks are occasioned by faults in Ethicks, and occasion them in their turn. The division into so many states was the rise of frequent quarrels, whereby men were bred up in a rough untractable disposition. Bodily strength met with the greatest honours, because it was daily necessary to the subsistence of little governments, and that headlong courage which throws itself forward to enterprise and plunder, was universally carested, because it carried all things before it. It is no wonder in an age of such education and customs, that, as *Thucydides says, “Robbing was honoured, provided it
 “were done with gallantry, and that the an-
 “cient poets made people question one another
 “as they failed by, *if they were thieves?* † as
 “a thing for which no one ought either to be
 “scorned or upbraided.” These were the sort of actions which the singers then recorded, and

* Thucyd. lib. 1.

† See Odysssey, iii. ver. 84—90. of our poet's version.

it was out of such an age that Homer was to take his subjects. For this reason (not a want of morality in him) we see a boasting temper and unmanaged roughness in the spirit of his Heroes, which ran out in pride, anger, or cruelty. It is not in him as in our modern Romances, where men are drawn in perfection, and we but read with a tender weakness what we can neither apply nor emulate. Homer writ for men, and therefore he writ of them; if the world had been better, he would have shewn it so; as the matter now stands, we see his people with the turn of his age, insatiably thirsting after glory and plunder; for which however he has found them a lawful cause, and taken care to retard their success by the intemperance of those very appetites.

IN the prosecution of the story, every part of it has its lessons of morality: there is brotherly love in Agamemnon and Menelaus, friendship in Achilles and Patroclus, and the love of his country in Hector. But since we have spoken of the Iliad as more particular for its politicks, we may consider the Odyssey as its moral is more directly framed for ethicks. It carries the Hero through a world of trials both of the dangerous and pleasurable nature.

It shews him first under most surprizing weights of adversity, among shipwrecks and savages ; all these he is made to pass through, in the methods by which it becomes a man to conquer ; a patience in suffering, and a presence of mind in every accident. It shews him again in another view, tempted with the baits of idle or unlawful pleasures ; and then points out the methods of being safe from them. But if in general we consider the care our author has taken to fix his lessons of morality by the proverbs and precepts he delivers, we shall not wonder if Greece, which afterwards gave the appellation of *wise* to men who settled *single sentences* of truth, should give him the title of the *Father of Virtue*, for introducing such a number. To be brief, if we take the opinion of * Horace, he has proposed him to us as a master of morality ; he lays down the common philosophical division of *good*, into *pleasant*,

* Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Plenius & melius Chrysippo & Crantore dicit.

Hor. *Ep.* 2. *lib.* 1.

Who tells us, what to seek, or what to shun,
What in each state is fittest to be done,
In manner, style, more graceful, and more plain,
Than all the Casuists from Eliza's reign.

Nevile's Imitations.

profitable, and honest; and then asserts that Homer has more fully and clearly instructed us in each of them, than the most rigid philosophers.

SOME indeed have thought, notwithstanding all this, that Homer had only a design to please in his inventions; and that others have since extracted morals out of his stories (as indeed all stories are capable of being used so). But this is an opinion concerning Poetry, which the world has rather degenerated into, than begun with. The tradition of Orpheus's civilizing mankind by moral *poems, with others of the like nature, may shew there was a better use of the art both known and practised. There is also a remarkable passage of this kind in the third book of the *Odyssy*, that Agamemnon left one of the † Poets of those times in his Court when he sailed for Troy; and that his Queen was preserved virtuous by his songs, 'till Ægythus was forced to expel him in order to debauch her. Here he has hinted what a true poetical spirit can do, when applied to the promotion of virtue;

* In the first edition:—"by *Hymns on the Gods*."

† *Odyss.* iii. ver. 267.

and from this one may judge he could not but design *that* himself, which he recommends as the duty and merit of his profession. Others since his time may have seduced the art to worse intentions; but they who are offended at the liberties of some poets, should not condemn all in the gross for trifling or corruption; especially when the evidence runs so strongly for any one, to the contrary.

WE may in general go on to observe, that at the time when Homer was born, Greece did not abound in learning. For where-ever Politics and Morality are weak, learning wants its peaceable air to thrive in *. He has however introduced as much of their Learning, and even of what he learned from Ægypt, as the nature and compass of his work would admit. But that we may not mistake the Elogies of those ancients who call him the *Father of Arts and*

* These alterations from the first edition seem unprofitable. Thus originally :—"to thrive in, and that opportunity which is
"not known in the ages of unsettled life. He is himself the man
"from whom we have the first accounts of antiquity, either in its
"actions or learning; from whom we hear what Ægypt or Greece
"could inform him in, and whatever himself could discover by the
"strength of Nature or Industry. But however that we may
"not—."

Sciences, and be surpris'd to find so little of them (as they are now in perfection) in his works ; we should know that this character is not to be understood at large, as if he had included the full and regular systems of every thing : he is to be considered professedly only in quality of a poet ; this was his business, to which as whatever he knew was to be subservient, so he has not failed to introduce those strokes of knowledge from the whole circle of arts and sciences, which the subject demanded, either for necessity or ornament *. And secondly, it should be observed, that many of those Notions, which his great Genius drew only from Nature and the Truth of things, have been imagined to proceed from his acquaintance with arts and sciences, invented long after ; to which that they were applicable, was no wonder, since both his notions and those sciences were equally founded in Truth and Nature.

History. BEFORE his time there were no historians in Greece ; he treated

* Instead of what follows to the next division of the subject, the first edition had only :—" This will appear on a fair view of " him in each of these lights."

historically of past transactions, according as he could be informed by tradition, song, or whatever method there was of preserving their memory. For this we have the consent of antiquity ; they have generally more appealed to his authority, and more insisted on it, than on the testimony of any other writer, when they treat of the rites, customs, and manners of the first times, they have generally believed that the acts of Tydeus at Thebes, the second siege of that city, the settlement of Rhodes, the battle between the Curetes and the Ætolians, the succession of the Kings of Mycenæ by the sceptre of Agamemnon, the acts of the Greeks at Troy, and many other such accounts, are some of them wholly preserved by him, and the rest as faithfully related as by any historian. Nor perhaps was all of his invention which seems to be feigned, but rather frequently the obscure traces and remains of real persons and actions ; which as * Strabo observes, when history was transmitted by oral tradition, might be mixed with fable before it came into the hands of the poet. “ This happened (says he) to Herodotus,

* Strabo, l. i.

“ the first professed historian, who is as fabu-
 “ lous as Homer when he defers * to the com-
 “ mon reports of countries ; and it is not to be
 “ imputed to either as a fault, but as a necessity
 “ of the times.” Nay, the very passages which
 cause us to tax them at this distance with being
 fabulous, might be occasioned by their dili-
 gence, and a fear of erring, if they too hastily
 rejected those reports which had passed current
 in the nations they described.

BEFORE his time there was no
 Geography. such thing as *Geography* in Greece.
 For this we have the suffrage of † Strabo, the
 best of Geographers, who approves the opinion
 of Hipparchus and other ancients, that Homer
 was the very author of it ; and upon this ac-
 count begins his treatise of the science itself,
 with an *encomium* on him. As to the general
 part of it, we find he had a knowledge of the
 earth’s being furrounded with the ocean, be-
 cause he makes the Sun and Stars both to rise
 and set in it ; and that he knew the use of the

* That is, in the *proper* signification of the word, when he
betakes himself, or *pays regard* : of which sense Dr. Johnson knew no
 example for his dictionary. Editor.

† Strabo, *ibid.* *initio*.

Stars is plain from his making * Ulysses sail by the observation of them. But the instance ofteneft alledged upon this point is the † shield of Achilles ; where he places the earth encompassed with the sea, and gives the Stars the names they are yet known by, as the Hyades, Pleiades, the Bear, and Orion. By the three first of these he represents the constellations of the northern region ; and in the last he gives a single representative of the southern, to which (as it were for a counter-balance) he adds a title of greatness, *Θέρον Ὀρίαν*. Then he tells us that the Bear, or Stars of the Arctick circle, never disappear ; as an observation which agrees with no other. And if to this we add (what Eratosthenes thought he meant) that the five plates which were fastened on the shield, divided it by the lines where they met, into the five zones, it will appear an original design of globes and spheres. In the particular parts of *Geography* his knowledge is entirely incontestable. Strabo refers to him upon all occasions, allowing that he knew the extremes of the earth, some of which he names, and others he

* Odyss. l. v. ver. 272. † Iliad, xviii. 482, &c.

describes by signs, as the *Fortunate islands*. The same * author takes notice of his accounts concerning the several soils, plants, animals and customs ; as *Ægypt's* being fertile of medicinal herbs ; *Lybia's* fruitfulness, where the ewes have horns, and yean thrice a year, &c. which are knowledges that make *Geography* more various and profitable. But what all have agreed to celebrate is his description of *Greece*, which had laws made for its preservation, and contests between governments decided by its authority : which † Strabo acknowledges to have no epithet, or ornamental expression for any place, that is not drawn from its nature, quality or circumstances ; and professes (after so long an interval) to deviate from it only where the country had undergone alterations, that cast the description into obscurity.

Rhetorick.

IN his time *Rhetorick* was not known : that art took its rise out of poetry, which was not 'till then established. “ The oratorical elocution (says ‡ Strabo) is but “ an imitation of the poetical ; this appeared “ first and was approved : they who imitated

* Strabo, l. 1.

† Strabo, l. 8.

‡ Strabo, l. 1.

“ it, took off the measures, but still preserved
 “ all the other parts of poetry in their writings :
 “ such were Cadmus the Milesian, Pherecydes,
 “ and Hecataeus. Then their followers took
 “ something more from what was left, and
 “ at last elocution descended into the prose
 “ which is now among us.” But if *Rhetorick*
 is owing to poetry, the obligation is still more
 due to Homer. He (as * Quintilian tells us)
 gave both the pattern and rise to all the parts
 of it. “ *Hic omnibus eloquentiæ partibus exem-*
 “ *plum & ortum dedit : hunc nemo in magnis*
 “ *rebus sublimitate, in parvis proprietate, super-*
 “ *avit. Idem lætus & pressus, jucundus &*
 “ *gravis, tum copiâ tum brevitate admirabilis,*
 “ *nec poeticâ modo sed oratoriâ virtute eminen-*
 “ *tissimus.*” From him therefore they who
 settled the art found it proper to deduce the
 rules, which was easily done, when they had
 divided their observations into the kinds and
 the ornaments of elocution. For the kinds,
 the “ ancients (says † A. Gell.) settled them
 “ according to the three which they observe in
 “ his principal speakers ; his Ulysses, who is

* Quintil. l. 10. cap. 1.

† Aulus Gell. l. 7. cap. 14.

“ magnificent and flowing ; his Menelaus,
 “ who is short and close ; and his Nestor,
 “ who is moderate and dispassioned, and has a
 “ kind of middle eloquence participating of
 “ both the former *.” And for the ornaments,
 † Aristotle, the great master of the Rhetoricians, shews what deference is due to Homer, when he orders the orator to lay down his heads, and express both the manners and affections of his work, with an imitation of that diction, and those figures, which the *divine* Homer excelled in. This is the constant language of those who succeeded him, and the opinion so far prevailed as to make ‡ Quintilian observe, that they who have written concerning the art of speaking, take from Homer most of the instances of their similitudes, amplifications, examples, digressions, and arguments.

Natural Philosophy.

As to § *Natural Philosophy*, the age was not arrived when the Greeks

* Compare our poet's observations on Iliad iii. ver. 271.

† Arist. *Topic*.

‡ Quint. l. 10.

§ This first sentence was thus originally conducted :—“ As to
 “ Natural Philosophy, the age was not arrived in which it flourished ; however some of its notions may be traced in him. As
 “ when he says that the fountains and rivers come from the ocean,
 “ he holds a circulation of fluids in the earth. But as this—.” I cannot discern, why this example was suppressed. Editor.

cultivated and reduced into a system the principles of it which they learned from Ægypt: yet we see many of these principles delivered up and down in his work. But as this is a branch of learning which does not lie much in the way of a Poet who speaks of heroes and wars; the desire to prove his knowledge this way, has only run * Politian and others into trifling inferences; as when they would have it that he understood the secrets of philosophy, because he mentions sun, rain, wind and thunder. The most plausible way of making out his knowledge in this kind, is by supposing he couched it in allegories; and that he sometimes used the *names of the Gods* as his *Terms* for the *Elements*, as the *Chymists* now use them for *Metals*. But in applying this to him we must tread very carefully; not searching for allegory too industriously, where the passage may instruct by example; and endeavouring rather to find the fable an ornament to plain truths, than to make it a cover to curious and unknown problems.

Phyick.

As for *Medicine*, something of it must have been understood in that

* Politian. *Præfatio in Hom.*

age ; though in Greece it was so far from perfection, that what concerned *Diet* was invented long after by Hippocrates. The accidents of life make the search after remedies too indispensable a duty to be neglected at any time. Accordingly he * tells us, that the Ægyptians who had many medicinal plants in their country, were all physicians ; and perhaps he might have learnt his own skill from his acquaintance with that nation. The state of war which Greece had lived in, required a knowledge in the healing of wounds : and this might make him breed his princes, Achilles, Patroclus, Podalirius, and Machaon, to the science. What Homer thus attributes to others, he knew himself, and he has given us reason to believe, not slightly. For if we consider his insight into the structure of the human body, it is so nice, that he has been judged by some to have wounded his heroes with too much science : or if we observe his cure of wounds, which are the accidents proper to an epic poem, we find him directing the surgical operation, sometimes infusing † lenitives, and at

* Odyss. l. iv. ver. 231. † Iliad, iv. ver. 218. and Iliad, xi. in fine.

other times bitter powders when the effusion of blood required astringent qualities.

FOR *Statuary*, it appears by the accounts of Ægypt and the Palladium, that there was enough of it very early in the world, for those images which were required in the worship of their Gods; but there are none mentioned as valuable in Greece so early, nor was the art established on its rules before Homer. He found it agreeable to the worship in use, and necessary for his machinery, that his Gods should be cloathed in bodies: wherefore he took care to give them such as carried the utmost perfection of the human form; and distinguished them from each other even in this superior beauty, with such marks as were agreeable to each of the Deities. “This, says * Strabo, awakened the conceptions of the most eminent statuaries, while they strove to keep up the grandeur of that idea, which Homer had impressed upon the imagination, as we read of Phidias concerning their statue of Jupiter.” And because they copied their Gods from him in their best performances, his descriptions became the

* Strabo, l. 8.

characters which were afterwards pursued in all works of good taste. Hence came the common saying of the ancients, “ That either
 “ Homer was the only man who had seen the
 “ forms of the Gods, or the only one who
 “ had shewn them to men ;” a passage which
 * Madam Dacier wrests to prove the truth of his theology, different from Strabo’s acceptance of it.

THERE are, besides what we have spoken of, other sciences pretended to be founded in him. Thus Macrobius discovers that the *chain* with which † Jupiter says he could lift the world, is a *metaphysical notion*, that means a connexion of all things from the Supreme Being to the meanest part of the creation. Others, to prove him skilful in *judicial Astrology*, bring a quotation concerning the births of ‡ Hector and Polydamas on the same night ; who were nevertheless of different qualifications, one excelling in war, and the other in eloquence : others again will have him to be versed in *Magick*, from his stories concerning Circe. These and many of the like nature are

* Dacier, *Preface to Homer*. † Il. viii. ver. 19. *Vid.*
Macrobius, de somn. Scip. l. i. c. 14. ‡ Il. xviii. ver. 252.

interpretations strained or trifling, such as are not wanted for a proof of Homer's learning, and by which we contribute nothing to raise his character, while we sacrifice our judgment to him in the eyes of others.

IT is sufficient to have gone thus far, in shewing he was a father of learning, a soul capable of ranging over the whole creation with an intellectual view, shining alone in an age of obscurity, and shining beyond those who have had the advantage of more learned ages ; leaving behind him a work not only adorned with all the knowledge of his own time, but in which he has beforehand broken up the fountains of several sciences which were brought nearer to perfection by posterity : a work which shall always stand at the top of the sublime character, to be gazed at by readers with an admiration of its perfection, and by writers with a despair that it should ever be emulated with success *.

* The reader is informed, that the preliminary observations of the Editor, to prevent a disproportion in the size of the volumes, are prefixed to the translation of the Odyſſey.

intuitions strained or trifling, such as are
not wanted for a proof of Homer's learning,
and by which we compare nothing to his
character, while we attribute our judgment to
him in the eyes of others. It is not
how again, but how to be used. It is
It is sufficient to have gone thus far, in
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tains of several sciences which were brought
nearer to perfection by posterity: a work which
shall always stand at the top of the sublime
character, to be gazed at by readers with an
admiration of its perfection, and by writers
with a despair that it should ever be equalled
with success. It is now to be followed and imitated.

The reader is informed, that the preliminary observations of
the Editor, to prevent a disposition in the face of the volume,
are prefixed to the translation of the Odyssey.

Vol. I. The Iliad. The Odyssey. The Works of Homer.
The Works of Homer. The Works of Homer.

THE ARGUMENT

THE
FIRST BOOK

OF THE
I L I A D.

THE ARGUMENT

—

The Commission of the Government

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. The Commission of the Government is now engaged in a careful examination of the same, and it is expected that a decision will be reached in due season.

YRS

FIRST BOOK

OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

OF THE

ALL A D.

The Commission of the Government is now engaged in a careful examination of the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and it is expected that a decision will be reached in due season. The Commission of the Government is now engaged in a careful examination of the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and it is expected that a decision will be reached in due season. The Commission of the Government is now engaged in a careful examination of the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and it is expected that a decision will be reached in due season.

B

Vol. I.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Contention of Achilles and Agamemnon.

IN the war of Troy, the Greeks having sacked some of the neighbouring towns, and taken from thence two beautiful captives, Chryseïs and Briseïs, allotted the first to Agamemnon, and the last to Achilles. Chryses, the father of Chryseïs, and priest of Apollo, comes to the Grecian camp to ransom her; with which the action of the poem opens, in the tenth year of the siege. The priest being refused and insolently dismissed by Agamemnon, intreats for vengeance from his God, who inflicts a pestilence on the Greeks. Achilles calls a council, and encourages Chalcas to declare the cause of it, who attributes it to the refusal of Chryseïs. The king being obliged to send back his captive, enters into a furious contest with Achilles, which Nestor pacifies; however, as he had the absolute command of the army, he seizes on Briseïs in revenge. Achilles in discontent withdraws himself and his forces from the rest of the Greeks; and complaining to Thetis, she supplicates Jupiter to render them sensible of the wrong done to her son, by giving victory to the Trojans. Jupiter granting her suit incenses Juno, between whom the debate runs high, till they are reconciled by the address of Vulcan.

The time of two and twenty days is taken up in this book; nine during the plague, one in the council and quarrel of the Princes, and twelve for Jupiter's stay with the Æthiopians, at whose return Thetis prefers her petition. The scene lies in the Grecian camp, then changes to Chrysa, and lastly to Olympus.

NOTES PRELIMINARY.

IT is something strange that of all the commentators upon Homer, there is hardly one whose principal design is to illustrate the poetical beauties of the author. They are voluminous in explaining those sciences which he made but subservient to his poetry, and sparing only upon that art which constitutes his character. This has been occasioned by the ostentation of men who had more reading than taste, and were fonder of shewing their variety of learning in all kinds, than their single understanding in poetry. Hence it comes to pass, that their remarks are rather philosophical, historical, geographical, allegorical, or in short any thing rather than critical and poetical. Even the grammarians, though their whole business and use be only to render the words of an author intelligible, are strangely touched with the pride of doing something more than they ought. The grand ambition of one sort of scholars is to increase the number of *various lectures*; which they have done to such a degree of obscure diligence, that (as Sir H. Savil observed) we now begin to value the first editions of books as most correct, because they have been least corrected. The prevailing passion of others is to discover *new meanings* in the author, whom they will cause to appear mysterious purely for the vanity of being thought to unravel him. These account it a disgrace to be of the opinion of those that preceded them; and it is generally the fate of such people who will never say what was said before, to say what will never be said after them. If they can but find a word, that has once been strained by some dark writer, to signify any thing different from its usual acceptation; it is frequent with them to apply it constantly to that uncommon meaning, whenever they meet it in a clear writer: for reading is so much dearer to them than sense, that they will discard it at any time to make way for a criticism. In other places where they cannot contest the truth of the common interpretation, they get themselves room for dissertation by imaginary *amphibologies*, which they will have to be designed by the author. This disposition of finding out different significations in one thing, may be the effect of either too much, or too little wit: for men of a right understanding generally see at once all that an author can reasonably mean, but others are apt to fancy two meanings for want of knowing one. Not to add, that there is a vast deal of difference between the learning of a critick, and the puzzling of a grammarian.

NOTES PRELIMINARY.

It is no easy task to make something out of a hundred pedants that is not pedantical; yet this he must do, who would give a tolerable abstract of the former expositors of Homer. The commentaries of Eustathius are indeed an immense treasury of the Greek learning; but as he seems to have amassed the substance of whatever others had written upon the author, so he is not free from some of the foregoing censures. There are those who have said, that a judicious abstract of him alone might furnish out sufficient illustrations upon Homer. It was resolved to take the trouble of reading through that voluminous work, and the reader may be assured those remarks that any way concern the poetry, or art of the poet, are much fewer than is imagined. The greater part of these is already plundered by succeeding commentators, who have very little but what they owe to him: and I am obliged to say even of Madam Dacier, that she is either more beholden to him than she has confessed, or has read him less than she is willing to own. She has made a farther attempt than her predecessors to discover the beauties of the poet; though we have often only her general praises and exclamations, instead of reasons. But her remarks all together are the most judicious collection extant of the scattered observations of the antients and moderns, as her preface is excellent, and her translation equally careful and elegant.

The chief design of the following notes is to comment upon Homer as a poet; whatever in them is extracted from others is constantly owned; the remarks of the ancients are generally set at length, and the places cited; all those of Eustathius are collected which fall under this scheme; many which were not acknowledged by other commentators, are restored to the true owner; and the same justice is shewn to those who refused it to others. P.

These *various lections*, spoken of by our poet in the beginning of this note, are merely the different reports of MSS. our chief authorities for constituting the text of the ancient writers: and the old editions are those for the most part, which express these MSS. with the greatest fidelity, uncontaminated indeed by the arbitrary interposition of ignorant unskilful editors. Whence, however, the petulance and absurdity of our author's remark is manifest: who was too fond of stepping beyond his province, to attack what he called *verbal critics*.

And with respect to Eustathius, he appears to have made a very inadequate use of the authors on Homer, and other Greek

NOTES PRELIMINARY.

productions, extant in his time: and very little of what is really important, either in *grammar* or *criticism* not derived from Athenæus, and existing *Scholiasts*, will be found in the voluminous collections of this loquacious commentator. EDITOR.

The plan of this poem is formed upon anger and its ill effects, the plan of Virgil's upon pious resignation and its rewards; and thus every passion or virtue may be the foundation of the scheme of an epic poem. This distinction between two authors who have been so successful, seemed necessary to be taken notice of, that they who would imitate either may not stumble at the very entrance, or so curb their imaginations, as to deprive us of noble morals told in a new variety of accidents. Imitation does not hinder invention: we may observe the rules of nature, and write in the spirit of those who have best hit upon them; without taking the same track, beginning in the same manner, and following the main of their story almost step by step; as most of the modern writers of epic poetry have done after one of these great poets. P.

This seems a very different judgment from the paradoxical decision of his great friend and commentator. "These are the *three species* of the epic poem; for its largest sphere is HUMAN ACTION, which can only be considered in a *moral*, a *political*, or *religious* view; and these (Homer, Virgil, and Milton) the three great MAKERS: for each of their poems was struck out at a heat, and came to perfection from its first essay. Here then the grand scene was closed; and all further improvements of the epic at an end." Divine Legation, i. p. 287. 4th edition.

THE
FIRST BOOK

OF THE
ILLIAD.

ACHILLES' wrath, to Greece the direful
spring
Of woes unnumber'd, heav'nly Goddeſs, ſing!

N O T E S.

Ver. 1.] Quintilian has told us, that from the beginning of Homer's two poems the rules of all Exordiums were derived.—
“*In pauciſſimis verſibus utriuſque operis ingreſſu, legem Proœmiorum non dico ſervavit, ſed conſtituit.*” Yet Rapin has been very free with this invocation, in his *Comparison between Homer and Virgil*; which is by no means the moſt judicious of his works. He cavils firſt at the Poet's inſiſting ſo much upon the effects of Achilles's anger, That it was “the cauſe of the woes of the Greeks,” that it “ſent ſo many heroes to the ſhades,” that “their bodies were left a prey to birds and beaſts,” the firſt of which he thinks had been ſufficient. One may answer, that the woes of Greece might conſiſt in ſeveral other things than in the death of her heroes, which was therefore needful to be ſpecified: as to the bodies, he might have reflected how great a curſe the want of burial was accounted by the ancients, and how prejudicial it was eſteemed even to the ſouls of the deceaſed. We have a moſt particular example of the

That wrath which hurl'd to Pluto's gloomy reign
The souls of mighty chiefs untimely slain ;

strength of this opinion from the conduct of Sophocles in his Ajax ; who thought this very point sufficient to make the distress of the last act of that tragedy, which is extended after the death of his Hero, purely to satisfy the audience that he obtained the rights of sepulture. Next he objects it as preposterous in Homer to desire the Muse to tell him the whole story, and at the same time to inform her solemnly in his own person that 'twas the *will of Jove* which brought it about. But is a poet then to be imagined intirely ignorant of his subject, though he invokes the Muse to relate the particulars ? may not Homer be allowed the knowledge of so plain a truth, as that the will of God is fulfilled in all things ? nor does his manner of saying this infer that he *informs* the Muse of it, but only corresponds with the usual way of desiring information from another concerning any thing, and at the same time mentioning that little we know of it in general. What is there more in this passage ? “ Sing, O Goddess, that wrath of Achilles, which proved so pernicious to the Greeks : we only know the effects of it, that it sent innumerable brave men to the shades, and that it was Jove's will it should be so. But tell me, O Muse, what was the source of this destructive anger ? ” I cannot comprehend what Rapin means by saying, it is hard to know where this *invocation* ends, and that it is confounded with the narration, which so manifestly begins at *Ἀντὶς δὲ Διὸς νόος*. But upon the whole, methinks the French critics play double with us, when they sometimes represent the rules of poetry to be formed upon the practice of Homer, and at other times arraign their master, as if he transgressed them.—Horace has said the exordium of an epic poem ought to be plain and modest, and instances Homer's as such ; and Rapin from this very rule will be trying Homer and judging it otherwise (for he criticises also upon the beginning of the *Odyssey*.) But for a full answer we may bring the words of Quintilian (whom Rapin himself allows to be the best of criticks) concerning these propositions and invocations of our author, “ *Benevolum auditorem invocatione* “ *dearum quas præsidere vatibus creditum est, intentum propositâ rerum* “ *magnitudine, & docilem summâ celeriter comprehensâ, facit.* ” P.

Whose limbs unbury'd on the naked shore, 5
Devouring dogs and hungry vultures tore :

Ver. 1.] Μῆνιν ᾄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆϊ.

Plutarch observes there is a defect in the measure of this first line (I suppose he means in the Eta's of the patronymick.) This, he thinks, the fiery vein of Homer, making haste to his subject, past over with a bold neglect, being conscious of his own power and perfection in the greater parts; as some (says he) who make virtue their sole aim, pass by censure in smaller matters. But perhaps we may find no occasion to suppose this a neglect in him, if we consider that the word Pelides, had he made use of it without so many alterations as he has put it to in Πηληϊάδεω, would still have been true to the rules of measure. Make but a diphthong of the second Eta and the Iota, instead of their being two syllables (perhaps by the fault of transcribers) and the objection is gone. Or perhaps it might be designed, that the verse in which he professes to sing of violent anger should run off in the rapidity of Dactyls. This art he is allowed to have used in other places, and Virgil has been particularly celebrated for it. P.

What Plutarch meant, it is not easy to discover, as he did not explain himself: the preceding note, however, deserves the fate of the Ajax of Augustus: it should fall upon the *sponge*. Nothing is more common in the Greek poets than the coalescence of ε ω into one syllable: a license, which even Virgil allows himself more than once in the word *eodem*.

In the first edition thus :

The wrath of Peleus' son, the direful spring
Of all the Grecian woes, O goddess, sing.

Ver. 3.] This is an imitation of Dacier.—“ *Cette colere*
“ *pernicieuse,—qui precipita dans le sombre royaume de Pluton,*
“ *les ames généreuses de tant de héros.*”

Ver. 5.] He had once written,

— — on the *hostile* shore:

Which was better: as the circumstance of being unburied in an *enemy's* country would be an additional cause of sorrow to a heathen in those days.

Since great Achilles and Atrides strove,
Such was the sov'reign doom, and such the
will of Jove!

Mr. Travers almost equals in majesty, and in simplicity exceeds,
our poet in this couplet:

While dogs and every vulture of the plain,
Found a rich banquet in the heaps of slain.

And Tickell's version is more agreeable to the spirit of his author
here than Pope's:

Whilst in promiscuous heaps their bodies lay
A feast for dogs and every bird of prey.

I shall give now, as on many future occasions, a literal copy of the
original in equal compass; not as a proper and complete version by
any means, but as the only method of notifying to the English
reader the deviations, the omissions, the amplifications, the addi-
tions, and the embellishments of our poet.

And made them spoils of every dog and fowl:

where the general word *every* is very emphatical, and is designed
to point out their utterly abandoned and defenceless state, so as to
be secure from no animals, however small, and feeble, and irresolute.
I would, therefore, propose the following attempt:

Whose limbs, defenceless and neglected, lay
To every dog, and every fowl, a prey.

Our poet seems indebted to Ogilby for his *epithets*:

Devouring vultures on their bodies prey'd,
And *greedy* dogs.

Maynwaring renders thus; and not contemptibly:

Whose limbs in Phrygian plains extended lay,
Expos'd to dogs and rav'nous birds of prey.

Ver. 7.] It is obvious from a comparison of all the other
translators, that our author was indebted to Hobbes for the
rhymes of this couplet:

Whilst the two Princes of the army *strove*,
King Agamemnon and Achilles *stout*:
That so it should be was the will of *Jove*.

In this exordium, and in similar passages of narrative and simple

Declare, O Muse! in what ill-fated hour
 Sprung the fierce strife, from what offended
 pow'r?

10

description, a version like Pope's infinitely exceeds, in my opinion, *any* blank translation that could be given. *Rhyme* is such a decoration, as a poetical subject in this case seems absolutely to require.

Ver. 8. *Will of Jove.*] Plutarch in his treatise of reading poets, interprets Διὸς in this place to signify *Fate*, not imagining it consistent with the goodness of the supreme being, or Jupiter, to contrive or practice any evil against men. Eustathius makes [Will] here to refer to the promise which Jupiter gave to Thetis, that he would honour her son by siding with Troy, while he should be absent. But to reconcile these two opinions, perhaps the meaning may be, that when *Fate* had decreed the destruction of Troy, Jupiter having the power of incidents to bring it to pass, fulfilled that decree by providing means for it. So that the words may thus specify the time of action from the beginning of the poem, in which those incidents worked, till the promise to Thetis was fulfilled, and the destruction of Troy ascertained to the Greeks by the death of Hector. However it is certain that this poet was not an absolute fatalist, but still supposed the power of Jove superior: for in the sixteenth Iliad, we see him designing to save Sarpedon, though the Fates had decreed his death if Juno had not interposed. Neither does he exclude free-will in men; for as he attributes the destruction of the heroes to the will of Jove in the beginning of the Iliad, so he attributes the destruction of Ulysses's friends to their *own folly* in the beginning of the Odyssey:

Αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρῃσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο.

P.

The true interpretation of the passage in question is not obvious. I understand the poet as follows: “*But the will of Jove*” “*was all this time accomplishing.*” He had decreed the destruction “*of Troy, which was brought forwards by this very mean, the*” “*quarrel between the chiefs; a circumstance, that appeared very*” “*likely to impede, and even frustrate, the grand event.*” For the “*resentment, occasioned by the death of Patroclus, was fatal to*” “*Hector, and in him to Troy.*”

Latona's son a dire contagion spread,
And heap'd the camp with mountains of the
dead;

Ver. 9. *Declare, O Muse.*] It may be questioned whether the first period ends at Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βύλη, and the interrogation to the Muse begins with Ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα——Or whether the period does not end till the words, Νῦν Ἀχιλλεύς, with only a single interrogation at Τίς τ' ἄρ' σφῶε θεῶν——? I should be inclined to favour the former, and think it a double interrogative, as Milton seems to have done in his imitation of this place at the beginning of *Paradise Lost*.

——Say first what cause

Mov'd our grand parents, &c. And just after,
Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt?

Besides that I think the proposition concludes more nobly with the sentence, *Such was the will of Jove*. But the latter being followed by most editions, and by all the translations I have seen in any language, the general acceptation is here complied with, only transposing the line to keep the sentence last: and the next verses are so turned as to include the double interrogation, and at the same time do justice to another interpretation of the words Ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ, *Ex quo tempore*; which makes the *date* of the quarrel from whence the poem takes its rise. Chapman would have *ex quo* understood of Jupiter, *from whom* the debate was suggested; but this clashes with the line immediately following, where he asks, what God inspired the contention? and answers, it was Apollo. P.

The futility of this criticism, mentioned at the beginning of the note, has been already noticed by Clarke: and this will of Jove is farther explained in book xv. ver. 713.

Ver. 10.] The uniformity of grammar required *sprang*.

Ver. 11. *Latona's son.*] Here the author, who first invoked the Muse as the Goddess of Memory, vanishes from the reader's view, and leaves her to relate the whole affair through the poem, whose presence from this time diffuses an air of majesty over the relation. And lest this should be lost to our thoughts in the continuation of the story, he sometimes refreshes them with a new invocation at proper intervals. *Eustathius*. P.

The king of men his rev'rend priest defy'd,
And for the king's offence the people dy'd.

For Chryses fought with costly gifts to gain 15
His captive daughter from the victor's chain.

Suppliant the venerable father stands,

Apollo's awful ensigns grace his hands :

By these he begs ; and lowly bending down,

Extends the sceptre and the laurel crown. 20

His obligations in this couplet are due to *Dryden* :

For this the God *a swift contagion spread*

Amid the camp, where heaps on heaps lay dead.

But Tickell in general profits more by his illustrious predecessor than our Poet.

Ver. 14.] An edifying reflexion, engrafted on the original, and derived from Horace :

——— *delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi :*

And subjects rue the madness of their kings.

One couplet of Tickell's in this paragraph is but little inferior to Pope's :

Hence swift contagion, by the god's commands,

Swept through the camp, and thinn'd the Grecian bands.

Ver. 16.] This turn of the passage our poet derived from Chapman, a little further on in the speech of Chryses :

For these fit presents to dissolve, the ransomeable *chaine*

Of my lov'd daughter's servitude.

Ver. 17.] He has not done much more than alter the rhymes of Dryden :

Suppliant before the Grecian chiefs he *stood* ;

Awful, and arm'd with *ensigns* of the God.

Ver. 20. *The sceptre and the laurel crown.*] There is something exceedingly venerable in this appearance of the priest. He comes with the ensigns of the God he belonged to ; the laurel crown, now carried in his hand, to shew he was a suppliant ; and a golden

He sued to all, but chief implor'd for grace
The brother-kings, of Atreus' royal race.

Ye kings and warriors! may your vows be
crown'd,

And Troy's proud walls lie level with the
ground.

May Jove restore you, when your toils are
o'er, 25

Safe to the pleasures of your native shore.

sceptre, which the ancients gave in particular to Apollo, as they did a silver one to the moon, and other forts to the planets.—
Eustathius. P.

Ver. 23. *Ye kings and warriors.*] The art of this speech is remarkable. Chryses considers the constitution of the Greeks before Troy, as made up of troops partly from kingdoms and partly from democracies: wherefore he begins with a distinction which comprehends all. After this, as Apollo's priest, he prays that they may obtain the two blessings they had most in view, the conquest of Troy, and a safe return. Then, as he names his petition, he offers an extraordinary ransom; and concludes with bidding them fear the God if they refuse it; like one who from his office seems to foresee their misery, and exhorts them to shun it. Thus he endeavours to work by the art of a general application, by religion, by interest, and the insinuation of danger. This is the substance of what Eustathius remarks on this place; and in pursuance to his last observation, the epithet *avenging* is added to this version, that it may appear the priest foretells the anger of his God. P.

The superiour delicacy, grace, and elegance of Pope to the other translators, cannot be better exemplified, than by a comparison of this speech with their's.

Ver. 30.] Our poet here, and above in v. 18, omits an image of his original, which he might easily have preserved by writing thus:

And dread *far-shooting* Phœbus, son of Jove.

But oh ! relieve a wretched parent's pain,
 And give Chryseïs to these arms again ;
 If mercy fail, yet let my presents move,
 And dread avenging Phœbus, son of Jove. 30

The Greeks in shouts their joint assent declare,
 The priest to rev'rence, and release the fair.
 Not so Atrides : He, with kingly pride,
 Repuls'd the sacred Sire, and thus reply'd :

Hence on thy life, and fly these hostile
 plains, 35
 Nor ask, presumptuous, what the king detains ;

Mr. Travers has thus rendered, with great success :

To Phœbus, son of Jove, your rev'rence show ;
 The God who bends the far-destroying bow.

Ver. 31.] Ogilby and Chapman alone, of all the rhyming translators, are true to their author. The former is not contemptible :

Straight all the Greeks, as one, their voices give,
 The priest to honour, and his gifts receive.

Ver. 33. *He with pride repuls'd.*] It has been remarked in honour of Homer's judgment, and the care he took of his reader's morals, that where he speaks of evil actions committed, or hard words given, he generally characterises them as such by a previous expression. This passage is given as one instance of it, where he says the repulse of Chryses was a proud injurious action in Agamemnon : and it may be remarked, that before his heroes treat one another with hard language in this book, he still takes care to let us know they were under a distraction of anger. Plutarch, *of reading Poets.* P.

Ver. 35.] He took from Dryden this awkward phrase, *hence on thy life* ; and has very inadequately represented his original, when Chapman and Ogilby had already done more justice to their author.

Hence, with thy laurel crown, and golden rod,
 Nor trust too far those ensigns of thy God.
 Mine is thy daughter, priest, and shall remain;
 And pray'rs, and tears, and bribes shall plead
 in vain; 40

Till time shall rifle ev'ry youthful grace,
 And age dismiss her from my cold embrace,

The version of the latter is not to be despised:

Be sure, old dotard, thee I never meet
 Here ling'ring, or revisiting our fleet.

Homer says these *ships*, not these plains: but our author could not keep his thoughts from Dryden:

Nor dare to tread this interdicted strand.

The remainder of this speech is nobly poetical in our translator: but he has followed Dryden in misrepresenting the original in verse 44.

'Till then my royal bed she shall attend,
 And, having first *adorn'd* it, late ascend.

Mr. Cowper thus exhibits the complete sense; but, for once, without force, elegance, or animation:

—— From her native country far,
 In Argos, in my palace, she shall ply
 The loom, and shall be partner of my bed.

The author of the travesty, who is very vulgar and odiously licentious, might take a hint from our translator: but I forbear to quote him.

Ver. 41.] *Till time shall rifle ev'ry youthful grace,
 And age dismiss her from my cold embrace,
 In daily labours of the loom employ'd,
 Or doom'd to deck the bed she once enjoy'd.*

The Greek is ἀντιώσαν, which signifies either *making* the bed, or *partaking* it. Eustathius and Madam Dacier insist very much upon its being taken in the former sense only, for fear of presenting a

In daily labours of the loom employ'd,
 Or doom'd to deck the bed she once enjoy'd.
 Hence then; to Argos shall the maid retire, 45
 Far from her native soil, and weeping fire.

The trembling priest along the shore return'd,
 And in the anguish of a father mourn'd.

loose idea to the reader, and of offending against the modesty of the Muse, who is supposed to relate the poem. This observation may very well become a bishop and a lady: but that Agamemnon was not studying here for civility of expression, appears from the whole tenor of his speech; and that he designed Chryseis for more than a servant maid, may be seen from some other things he says of her, as that he preferred her to his Queen Clytemnestra, &c. the imprudence of which confession, Madam Dacier herself has elsewhere animadverted upon. Mr. Dryden, in his translation of this book, has been juster to the royal passion of Agamemnon, though he has carried the point so much on the other side, as to make him promise a greater fondness for her in her old age than in her youth, which indeed is hardly credible.

Mine she shall be, till creeping age and time
 Her bloom have wither'd, and destroy'd her prime;
 Till then my nuptial bed she shall attend,
 And having first adorn'd it, late ascend.
 This for the night; by day the web and loom,
 And homely household tasks shall be her doom.

Nothing could have made Mr. Dryden capable of this mistake, but extreme haste in writing; which never ought to be imputed as a fault to him, but to those who suffered so noble a genius to lie under the necessity of it. P.

Ver. 47. *The trembling priest.*] We may take notice here, once for all, that Homer is frequently eloquent in his very silence. Chryses says not a word in answer to the insults of Agamemnon, but walks pensively along the shore: and the melancholy flowing of the verse admirably expresses the condition of the mournful and deserted father.

Βῆ δ' ἀκείαν παρὰ θύρας πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.

P.

Disconsolate, not daring to complain,
 Silent he wander'd by the sounding main : 50
 Till, safe at distance, to his God he prays,
 The God who darts around the world his rays.

O Smintheus ! sprung from fair Latona's line,
 Thou guardian pow'r of Cilla the divine, 54
 Thou source of light ! whom Tenedos adores,
 And whose bright presence gilds thy Chrysa's
 shores :

If e'er with wreaths I hung thy sacred fane,
 Or fed the flames with fat of oxen slain ;
 God of the silver bow ! thy shafts employ,
 Avenge thy servant, and the Greeks destroy. 60

These are imperfect rhymes. Maynwaring is much closer to his original, and without exception, if slightly corrected :

The trembling priest his dreadful voice obey'd ;
 By the loud shore in silent passion stray'd.

Or we may thus adjust our poet :

The trembling priest along the shore *recedes* ;
 His breast with all a father's anguish *bleeds*.

Ver. 50.] Tickell, I think, is more successful on this occasion, in expressing with more magnificence of language the sonorous majesty of his original :

Silent he pass'd, amid the deafening roar
 Of tumbling billows, on the lonely shore.

Ver. 51.] This ignoble extraneous thought is from Dryden :
 ——— secure at length he stood.

Or it might be suggested, indeed, by Chapman's version :

—— the priest, trod off with haste and feare :
 And, walking silent, till *he felt, farre off his enemies eare.*

Ver. 56.] A small variation would have rendered this verse more appropriate :

Thus Chryses pray'd: The fav'ring pow'r
 attends,
 And from Olympus' lofty tops descends.
 Bent was his bow, the Grecian hearts to wound;
 Fierce as he mov'd, his silver shafts resound.
 Breathing revenge, a sudden night he spread, 65
 And gloomy darkness roll'd about his head.
 The fleet in view, he twang'd his deadly bow,
 And hissing fly the feather'd fates below.

And whose bright presence *glads* thy Chrysa's shores.

Ver. 61. *The fav'ring pow'r attends.*] Upon this first prayer in the poem, Eustathius takes occasion to observe, that the poet is careful throughout his whole work to let no prayer ever fall intirely which has justice on its side; but he who prays either kills his enemy, or has signs given him that he has been heard, or his friends return, or his undertaking succeeds, or some other visible good happens. So instructive and useful to life has Homer made his fable. P.

Ver. 62.] He might easily have kept closer to his original:

And from Olympus' tops in *wrath* descends.

Tickell is more successful in this instance:

Apollo heard his injur'd suppliant's cry;

Down rush'd the vengeful warrior from the sky.

Ver. 67. *He twang'd his deadly bow.*] In the tenth year of the siege of Troy, a plague happened in the Grecian camp, occasioned perhaps by immoderate heats and gross exhalations. At the introduction of this accident Homer begins his poem, and takes occasion from it to open the scene of action with a most beautiful allegory. He supposes that such afflictions are sent from Heaven for the punishment of our evil actions; and because the sun was a principal instrument of it, he says it was sent to punish Agamemnon for despising that God, and injuring his priest. *Eustathius.* P.

Chapman has:

His silver bow *twang'd*.

On mules and dogs th' infection first began ;
 And last, the vengeful arrows fix'd in man. 70

And Dryden :

His bow *twang'd*.

Ogilby is very faithful ; and his *second* verse, which Maynwaring has adopted as I give it, by the transposition of one word becomes excellent :

Far from the fleet he fate, a shaft lets go ;
 The twang was dreadful of his silver bow.

Ver. 68.] This elegant *periphrasis* is from Dryden :

And *feather'd fates* among the mules and sumpters sent.

Ver. 69. *Mules and dogs.*] Hippocrates observes two things of plagues ; that their cause is in the air, and that different animals are differently touched by them, according to their nature or nourishment. This philosophy Spondanus refers to the plague here mentioned. First, the cause is in the air, by reason of the darts or beams of Apollo. Secondly, the mules and dogs are said to die sooner than the men ; partly because they have by nature a quickness of smell, which makes the infection sooner perceivable ; and partly by the nourishment they take, their feeding on the earth with prone heads making the exhalation more easy to be sucked in with it. Thus has Hippocrates, so long after Homer writ, subscribed to his knowledge in the rise and progress of this distemper. There have been some who have referred this passage to a religious sense, making the death of the mules and dogs before the men to point out a kind of method of providence in punishing, whereby it sends some previous afflictions to warn mankind, so as to make them shun the greater evils by repentance. This Monsieur Dacier, in his notes on Aristotle's art of poetry, calls a remark perfectly fine and agreeable to God's method of sending plagues on the Ægyptians, where first horses, asses, &c. were smitten, and afterwards the men themselves. P.

Heraclides Ponticus, in his most elegant treatise on *the Allegories of Homer*, remarks, that the most accurate observations of physicians and philosophers, unite in testifying the commencement of *pestilential* disorders to be exhibited in the havoc of *four-footed animals*.

For nine long nights, thro' all the dusky air
 The pyres thick-flaming shot a dismal glare.
 But e'er the tenth revolving day was run,
 Inspir'd by Juno, Thetis' god-like son

Dryden has,

Th' essay of rage, on faithful dogs the next;
 which though our poet has not imitated here, I have no doubt from his perfect knowledge of all Dryden's works, and his undeviating attention to all his movements, that the beginning of this verse reminded him of another passage in that illustrious master, which furnisht the rhymes of the present couplet:

*Th' essay of bloody feasts on brutes began,
 And after forg'd the sword to murder man:*

just as Virgil keeps his eye perpetually fixed on Lucretius; and, even where no correspondent sentiment is discoverable, adopts the expression and pauses of his predecessor. A single instance may not be unacceptable to the learned reader. In that sweet passage, lib. i. ver. 253. Lucretius says,

*At nitidæ surgunt fruges, ramique virescunt
 Arboribus: crescunt ipsæ, fætuque gravantur:*

And Virgil in his last eclogue, on a subject wholly unconnected, parodies, as it were, the latter verse:

*—— tenerisque meos incidere amores
 Arboribus; crescent illæ, crescetis amores.*

Ver. 72.] In the first edition it was:

The fires thick-flaming.

And our poet seems to have cast his eye on Maynwaring:

And funeral piles with dismal blazes flam'd.

Ver. 74. *Thetis' god-like son convenes a council.*] On the tenth day a council is held to inquire why the Gods were angry? Plutarch observes, how justly he applies the characters of his persons to the incidents; not making Agamemnon but Achilles call this council, who of all the kings was most capable of making observations upon the plague, and of foreseeing its duration, as having been bred by Chiron to the study of physick. One may mention

Conven'd to council all the Grecian train ; 75
For much the goddess mourn'd her heroes slain.

Th' assembly seated, rising o'er the rest,
Achilles thus the king of men addrest :

Why leave we not the fatal Trojan shore,
And measure back the seas we crost before ? 80
The plague destroying whom the sword would
spare,
'Tis time to save the few remains of war.

also a remark of Eustathius in pursuance to this, that Juno's advising him in this case might allude to his knowledge of an evil temperament in the air, of which she was Goddess. P.

Homer only says that "Juno suggested it to his mind;" and our poet borrowed his expression from Dacier: "Achille, inspiré par la déesse Junon."

Ver. 79. *Why leave we not the fatal Trojan shore, &c.*] The artifice of this speech (according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his second discourse, *περὶ ἐσχηματισμένων*) is admirably carried on to open an accusation against Agamemnon, whom Achilles suspects to be the cause of all their miseries. He directs himself not to the Assembly, but to Agamemnon; he names not only the plague but the war too, as having exhausted them all, which was evidently due to his family. He leads the Augurs he would consult, by pointing at something lately done with respect to Apollo. And while he continues within the guard of civil expression, scattering his insinuations, he encourages those who may have more knowledge to speak out boldly, by letting them see there is a party made for their safety; which has its effect immediately in the following speech of Chalcas, whose demand of protection shows upon whom the offence is to be placed. P.

Ver. 81.] Mr. Travers has happily represented the propriety of the original, which is lost in our poet, whose rhymes also are vicious:

*If Greece can fly from death's promiscuous woe;
Here sweeps the plague, and there the Trojan foe.*

But let some prophet, or some sacred sage,
 Explore the cause of great Apollo's rage;
 Or learn the wasteful vengeance to remove, 85
 By mystic dreams, for dreams descend from Jove.
 If broken vows this heavy curse have laid,
 Let altars smoke, and hecatombs be paid.
 So Heav'n aton'd shall dying Greece restore,
 And Phœbus dart his burning shafts no more. 90

Ver. 86. *By mystic dreams.*] It does not seem that by the word *ὄνειρόπολος* an interpreter of dreams is meant, for we have no hint of any preceding dream which wants to be interpreted. We may therefore more probably refer it to such who used (after performing proper rites) to lie down at some sacred place and expect a dream from the Gods upon any particular subject which they desired. That this was a practice among them, appears from the Temples of Amphiaraus in Bœotia and Podalirius in Apulia, where the inquirer was obliged to sleep at the altar upon the skin of the beast he had sacrificed, in order to obtain an answer. It is in this manner that Latinus in Virgil's seventh book goes to dream in the temple of Faunus, where we have a particular description of the whole custom. Strabo, lib. xvi. has spoken concerning the Temple of Jerusalem as a place of this nature; "where (says he) the people either dreamed for themselves, or procured some good dreamer to do it." By which it should seem he had read something concerning the visions of their prophets, as that which Samuel had when he was ordered to sleep a third time before the ark, and upon doing so had an account of the destruction of Eli's house; or that which happened to Solomon, after having sacrificed before the ark at Gibeon. The same author has also mentioned the Temple of Serapis in his seventeenth book, as a place for receiving oracles by dreams. P.

Ver. 89.] Ogilby is accurate, but groveling:
 If lambs or goats may an atonement make,
 And he from us this heavy judgment take.

He said, and sat: when Chalcas thus reply'd:
 Chalcas the wise, the Grecian priest and guide,
 That sacred seer, whose comprehensive view
 The past, the present, and the future knew:
 Uprising slow, the venerable sage 95
 Thus spoke the prudence and the fears of age.

Belov'd of Jove, Achilles! wouldst thou know
 Why angry Phœbus bends his fatal bow?

And I suppose the *burning shafts* might be suggested by Chapman's:
 ——— avert his *fervent eye*.

Ver. 92.] Our poet is too concise for his original; which is exhibited simply, and not inelegantly, in Hall's translation from the French, printed at London, 1581:

The present times he knewe ful wel, the past he not forgot,
 Of suche as were to come he wist, what was the secrete lot;
 This onely was the prophet he, for to direct their wayes,
 The Greekes did choose in this exploite; and sagely thus he sayes.

This introduction, however, to the speech of Chalcas, is uncommonly elegant, and throughout this book a competition with Dryden seems to have roused all the powers of our translator.

Ver. 96.] He should have written:

“Thus *spake* the prudence:”
 as in numberless other instances. And the original says merely,
 as Mr. Cowper renders:

He, prudent, them admonishing replied:
 so that *the venerable sage* is from Dryden:
The reverend priest in graceful act arose:
 and the rest from a hint in Dacier:

“Il parla, en ces termes, qui marquoient sa *prudence* et sa *sagesse*.”

Ver. 97. *Belov'd of Jove, Achilles!*] These appellations of praise and honour, with which the Heroes in Homer so frequently salute each other, were agreeable to the style of the ancient times, as appears from several of the like nature in the scripture. Mil-

First give thy faith, and plight a prince's word
 Of sure protection, by thy pow'r and sword. 100
 For I must speak what wisdom would conceal,
 And truths, invidious to the great, reveal.
 Bold is the task, when subjects grown too wise,
 Instruct a monarch where his error lies ;
 For tho' we deem the short-liv'd fury past, 105
 'Tis sure, the mighty will revenge at last.

ton has not been wanting to give his poem this 'cast of antiquity, throughout which our first parents almost always accost each other with some title, that expresses a respect to the dignity of human nature.

Daughter of god and man, immortal Eve——

Adam, Earth's hallow'd mould of God inspir'd.——

Offspring of heaven and earth, and all earth's Lord, &c.

Our translator is unhappy in this speech of Chalcas, which partly perverts, and partly suppresses, the original. Mr. Travers is more successful in one part; though even he has not shewn his skill in preserving the indirect dexterity of Homer.

I guess my speech the monarch's rage will bring;

And how shall subjects trust an angry king?

Tho' he, perhaps, no blaze of passion shews,

Fierce in his mind the dark resentment glows.

Pope's rhymes are from Dryden :

Wouldst thou the seeds deep sown of mischief know,

And why provok'd Apollo bends his bow?

Ver. 102.] This is formed upon Dryden, who treads, in this speech and elsewhere, very closely on Chapman's steps :

For I shall tell *ungrateful truths*.

Maynwaring is faithful :

And still unequal is a subject's strife,

Match'd with a monarch who commands his life :

For though he seems his anger to digest,

He keeps the rancour in his mindful breast.

To whom Pelides. From thy inmost soul
Speak what thou know'st, and speak without
controul.

Ev'n by that God I swear, who rules the day,
To whom thy hands the vows of Greece convey,
110

And whose blest oracles thy lips declare;
Long as Achilles breathes this vital air,
No daring Greek of all the num'rous band,
Against his priest shall lift an impious hand:
Not ev'n the chief by whom our hosts are led, 115
The king of kings, shall touch that sacred head.

Ver. 107.] None of the translators acquit themselves amiss in this speech of Achilles, but Pope greatly surpasses all; not, however, without obligation to the following couplet of Dryden:

To speak what Phœbus has inspir'd *thy soul*
For common good; and *speak without controul.*

Ver. 111.] He follows Dryden:

That while my nostrils draw *this vital air*,
None shall presume to violate those *bands*,
Or touch thy person with *unhallow'd hands*.

Ver. 115. *Not ev'n the Chief.*] After Achilles had brought in Chalcas by his dark doubts concerning Agamemnon, Chalcas, who perceived them, and was unwilling to be the first that named the King, artfully demands a protection in such a manner, as confirms those doubts, and extorts from Achilles this warm and particular expression. "That he would protect him even against Agamemnon," (who, as he says, is *now* the greatest man of Greece; to hint that at the expiration of the war he should be again reduced to be barely King of Mycæne.) This place Plutarch takes notice of as the first in which Achilles shews his contempt of sovereign authority. P.

Encourag'd thus, the blameless man replies ;
 Nor vows unpaid, nor slighted sacrifice,
 But he, our chief, provok'd the raging pest,
 Apollo's vengeance for his injur'd priest. 120
 Nor will the God's awaken'd fury cease,
 But plagues shall spread, and fun'ral fires in-
 crease,
 'Till the great king, without a ransom paid,
 To her own Chrysa send the black-ey'd maid.

Ver. 117. *The blameless.*] The epithet ἀμύμων, or *blameless*, is frequent in Homer, but not always used with so much propriety as here. The reader may observe that care has not been wanting thro' this translation, to preserve those epithets which are peculiar to the author, whenever they receive any beauty from the circumstances about them; as this of *blameless* manifestly does in the present passage. It is not only applied to a priest, but to one who being conscious of the truth, prepares with an honest boldness to discover it. P.

In the first edition :

The blameless *priest* replies,
 exactly to the original, but altered on account of v. 120.

Ver. 118.] This verse is a modification of Dryden's :

Nor hecatomb unslain, *nor vows unpaid* :
 but no less obligation appears to Ogilby :

The blameless prophet boldly then replies ;
 Not for neglected *vows*, *nor sacrifice*.

Ver. 120.] Here Dryden has Chapman's expression, which I supposed our poet to borrow above at verse 16.

He keeps the damsel *captive* in his *chain*.

Ver. 123.] Thus Maynwaring :

'Till prosp'rous gales, no bribe or *ransom paid*,
 To longing Chryses bear *the black-ey'd maid*.

Perhaps, with added sacrifice and pray'r, 125
The priest may pardon, and the God may spare.

The prophet spoke; when with a gloomy frown
The monarch started from his shining throne;
Black choler fill'd his breast that boil'd with ire,
And from his eye-balls flash'd the living fire. 130
Augur accurst! denouncing mischief still,
Prophet of plagues, for ever boding ill!

Ver. 128.] Homer says only, *he rose up*;
but Dryden:

Upstarting from his throne, the king of men.

Ver. 129.] This is a languid line. I prefer Tickell;

Disdain and vengeance in his bosom rise,

Lour in his brows, and sparkle in his eyes.

Or Travers:

Dark in his breast the stormy passions rise;

Fire shoots in flashes from his glaring eyes.

Our poet consulted Ogilby:

His breast with choler burnt.

Ver. 131. *Augur accurst!*] This expression is not merely thrown out by chance, but proves what Chalcas said of the King when he asked protection, "That he harboured anger in his heart." For it aims at the prediction Chalcas had given at Aulis nine years before, for the sacrificing his daughter Iphigenia. *Spondanus.*

This, and the two following lines, are in a manner repetitions of the same thing thrice over. It is left to the reader to consider how far it may be allowed, or rather praised for a beauty, when we consider with Eustathius that it is a most natural effect of anger to be full of words, and insisting on that which galls us. We may add, that these reiterated expressions might be supposed to be thrown out one after another, as Agamemnon is struck in the confusion of his passion, first by the remembrance of one prophecy, and then of another, which the same man had uttered against him. P.

Still must that tongue some wounding message
bring,

And still thy priestly pride provoke thy king?
For this are Phœbus' oracles explor'd, ¹³⁵
To teach the Greeks to murmur at their Lord?
For this with falsehoods is my honour stain'd,
Is Heav'n offended, and a priest profan'd;
Because my prize, my beauteous maid I hold,
And heav'nly charms prefer to proffer'd gold? ¹⁴⁰
A maid, unmatch'd in manners as in face,
Skill'd in each art, and crown'd with every
grace.

Not half so dear were Clytæmnestra's charms,
When first her blooming beauties blest my arms.

This speech of Agamemnon, though not so close as in some of the other translators, is nobly executed, and leaves nothing to regret in a version at least equal to the original.

Ver. 137.] His original runs literally thus:

That hence the God far-darting sends these woes,
Because the splendid ransom I refus'd
Of your Chryseis:

so that Dryden was the director of our poet:

Now Phœbus is *provok'd*, his rites and laws
Are in his *priest profan'd*; and I the cause:
Since I detain a slave *my sov'reign prize*,
And sacred *gold*, your idol-god, despise.

And it is curious to observe, what a variety of excursions Dryden has made in his translation, for the purpose of exerting his spleen against the *priesthood*.

Ver. 143. *Not half so dear were Clytæmnestra's charms.*] Agamemnon having heard the charge which Chalcas drew up against

Yet if the Gods demand her, let her fail ; 145
 Our cares are only for the publick weal :
 Let me be deem'd the hateful cause of all,
 And suffer, rather than my people fall.
 The prize, the beauteous prize, I will resign,
 So dearly valu'd, and so justly mine. 150
 But since for common good I yield the fair,
 My private loss let grateful Greece repair ;
 Nor unrewarded let your prince complain,
 That he alone has fought and bled in vain.
 Infatiate king (Achilles thus replies) 155
 Fond of the pow'r, but fonder of the prize !

him in two particulars, that he had affronted the priest, and refused to restore his daughter ; he offers one answer which gives softening colours to both, that he loved her as well as his Queen Clytæmnestra for her perfections. Thus he would seem to satisfy the father by kindness to his daughter, to excuse himself before the Greeks for what is past, and to make a merit of yielding her, and sacrificing his passion for their safety. P.

Ver. 146.] This rhyme is very vicious. Thus Chapman :

I rather wish *the weale*

Of my lov'd armie, than the death.

An unexceptionable couplet may be made from a mixture of Maynwaring :

Yet, if the Gods demand, I yield the fair ;

The public weal is my superiour care.

Ver. 155. *Infatiate king.*] Here, where this passion of anger grows loud, it seems proper to prepare the reader, and prevent his mistake in the character of Achilles, which might shock him in several particulars following. We should know that the poet rather studied nature than perfection, in the laying down his characters. He resolved to sing the consequences of anger ; he considered what virtues and vices would conduce most to bring his

Would'st thou the Greeks their lawful prey
 thou'd yield,
 The due reward of many a well-fought field?
 The spoils of cities raz'd, and warriors slain,
 We share with justice, as with toil we gain : 160

moral out of the fable; and artfully disposed them in his chief persons after the manner in which we generally find them; making the fault which most peculiarly attends any good quality, to reside with it. Thus he has placed pride with magnanimity in Agamemnon, and craft with prudence in Ulysses. And thus we must take his Achilles, not as a mere heroick dispassioned character, but as compounded of courage and anger; one who finds himself almost invincible, and assumes an uncontrouled carriage upon the self-consciousness of his worth; whose high strain of honour will not suffer him to betray his friends, or fight against them, even when he thinks they have affronted him; but whose inexorable resentment will not let him hearken to any terms of accommodation.—These are the lights and shades of his character, which Homer has heightened and darkened in extremes; because on the one side valour is the darling quality of epic poetry; and on the other, anger the particular subject of this poem. When characters thus mixed are well conducted, though they be not morally beautiful quite through, they conduce more to the end, and are still poetically perfect.

Plutarch takes occasion from the observation of this conduct in Homer, to applaud his just imitation of nature and truth, in representing virtues and vices intermixed in his Heroes: contrary to the paradoxes and strange positions of the Stoicks, who held that no vice could consist with virtue, nor the least virtue with vice. *Plut. de aud. poetis.* P.

Ogilby is unpoetical, but close to his author:

To this Æacides; Oh! thou the most
 Renown'd, and yet the greediest of the host:

so that our poet seems to have been regulated by Dryden:

To this the fierce Thessalian prince *replied*,
 O first in power, but passing all in pride.

But to resume whate'er thy av'rice craves,
 (That trick of tyrants) may be borne by slaves.
 Yet if our chief for plunder only fight,
 The spoils of Ilion shall thy loss requite,
 Whene'er, by Jove's decree, our conqu'ring
 pow'rs 165

Shall humble to the dust her lofty tow'rs.

Then thus the king. Shall I my prize resign
 With tame content, and thou possessest of thine?
 Great as thou art, and like a God in fight,
 Think not to rob me of a soldier's right. 170

[Ver. 161.] This is wide of the original, to which most of the other translators have adhered. Mr. Travers thus:

Can we resume each private warrior's right,
 And part anew the vast rewards of fight?

but our poet, as usual, followed Dryden:

Which to resume were both unjust and base:
 Not to be borne but by a servile race.

[Ver. 163.] There is nothing of this in his original. The following correction would make the translation faithful:

Thou then indulge a tender parent's prayer:
The spoils of Ilion shall thy loss repair.

[Ver. 166.] He might have rendered exactly, and, perhaps, with superiour vigour of versification, thus:

Whene'er, by Jove's decrees, our pow'rs destroy,
 And lay in dust the well-built walls of Troy.

[Ver. 167.] He borrows his rhymes from Dryden:

Pretend not, mighty man, that what is mine,
 Controll'd by thee, I tamely should resign.
 Shall I release the prize I gain'd by right
 In taken towns, and many a bloody fight.

[Ver. 169. *Great as thou art, and like a God in fight.*] The words in the original are *ἄσπετος Ἀχιλλεύς*. Ulysses is soon after

At thy demand shall I restore the maid ?
 First let the just equivalent be paid ;
 Such as a king might ask ; and let it be
 A treasure worthy her, and worthy me.
 Or grant me this, or with a monarch's claim, 175
 This hand shall seize some other captive dame.
 The mighty Ajax shall his prize resign,
 Ulysses' spoils, or ev'n thy own be mine.
 The man who suffers, loudly may complain ;
 And rage he may, but he shall rage in vain. 180

called Δῖος, and others in other places. The phrase of *divine* or *god-like* is not used by the poet to signify perfection in men, but applied to considerable persons upon account of some particular qualification or advantage, which they were possessed of far above the common standard of mankind. Thus it is ascribed to Achilles on account of his great valour, to Ulysses for his preheminance in wisdom ; even to Paris for his exceeding beauty, and to Clytæmnestra for several fair endowments. P.

Ver. 172. *First let the just equivalent.*] The reasoning in point of right between Achilles and Agamemnon seems to be this.— Achilles pleads that Agamemnon could not seize upon any other man's captive without a new distribution, it being an invasion of private property. On the other hand, as Agamemnon's power was limited, how came it that all the Grecian captains would submit to an illegal and arbitrary action ? I think the legal pretence for his seizing Briseïs must have been founded upon that law, whereby the commander in chief had the power of taking what part of the prey he pleased for his own use : and he being obliged to restore what he had taken, it seemed but just that he should have a second choice. P.

Ver. 175.] This thought, not in the original, he owed to Dryden :

Else I, assure thy soul, by sov'reign right,
 Will seize thy captive in thy own despight.

But this when time requires—It now remains
 We launch a bark to plow the watry plains,
 And waft the sacrifice to Chrysa's shores,
 With chosen pilots, and with lab'ring oars.
 Soon shall the fair the fable ship ascend, 185
 And some deputed prince the charge attend;
 This Creta's king, or Ajax shall fulfill,
 Or wise Ulysses see perform'd our will;
 Or, if our royal pleasure shall ordain,
 Achilles' self conduct her o'er the main; 190
 Let fierce Achilles, dreadful in his rage,
 The God propitiate, and the pest assuage.

At this, Pelides frowning stern, reply'd:
 O tyrant, arm'd with insolence and pride!

Ver. 179.] Dryden thus:

Then softly murmur, or *aloud complain*;
 Rage as you please, you shall resist *in vain*.

Ver. 185.] Our poet has an eye to Ogilby's translation here:

Let *fair Chryseis the tall ship ascend*,
 And there some nobler pilot her *attend*.

Ver. 189.] He was misled by Dryden, into this perversion of the original, which is neatly and fully expressed by Mr. Travers:

Then to the deck the fair Chryseis bring,
 The charge of Ajax, or of Creta's king;
 Be grave Ulysses, or be thou, the guide,
 Fierce as thou art, unrivall'd in thy pride:
 Aton'd by thee let Heav'n propitious grow,
 And the fell shaft of vengeance cease to glow.

Dryden is:

In Creta's king, or Ithacus, or, *if I please, in thee*.

Inglorious slave to int'rest, ever join'd 195
 With fraud, unworthy of a royal mind!
 What gen'rous Greek, obedient to thy word,
 Shall form an ambush, or shall lift the sword?
 What cause have I to war at thy decree?
 The distant Trojans never injur'd me: 200
 To Phthia's realms no hostile troops they led,
 Safe in her vales my warlike courfers fed;
 Far hence remov'd, the hoarse-resounding main,
 And walls of rocks, secure my native reign,
 Whose fruitful soil luxuriant harvests grace, 205
 Rich in her fruits, and in her martial race.
 Hither we sail'd, a voluntary throng,
 T'avenge a private, not a publick wrong:
 What else to Troy th' assembled nations draws,
 But thine, ungrateful, and thy brother's cause? 210

Ver. 195.] This favours of Dacier: *Qui n'avez que de vils intérêts en vûë.*—” May the rhymes be corrected thus?

To gain inglorious, and to fraud inclin'd;
 Unseemly passions for a royal mind!

Ver. 196.] This is not in the original; *one* line of which is feebly expanded by the translator into *three*. Thus Homer:

O! cloth'd in impudence! of greedy soul!

Ver. 201.] This part of the speech is most beautifully translated. There is a poetical complexion in Chapman's version here:

Phthia, whose bosome flowes
 With corne and people, never felt empaire of his increase
 By their invasion: hills enow, and farre-resounding seas
 Powre out their shades and deepes between.

Is this the pay our blood and toils deserve ;
 Disgrac'd and injur'd by the man we serve ?
 And dar'st thou threat to snatch my prize away,
 Due to the deeds of many a dreadful day ;
 A prize as small, O tyrant ! match'd with
 thine, 215
 As thy own actions if compar'd to mine.

Ver. 211.] No true rhymes can have the same terminations.

Ver. 213. *And dar'st thou threat to snatch my prize away,
 Due to the deeds of many a dreadful day.*]

The anger of these two Princes was equally upon the account of women, but yet it is observable that they are conducted with a different air. Agamemnon appears as a lover, Achilles as a warrior: the one speaks of Chryseïs as a beauty whom he valued equal to his wife, and whose merit was too considerable to be easily resigned; the other treats Briseïs as a slave, whom he is concerned to preserve in point of honour, and as a testimony of his glory.—Hence it is that we never hear him mention her but as his *spoil*, the *reward of war*, the *gift the Grecians gave him*, or the like expressions: and accordingly he yields her up, not in grief for a mistress, whom he loses, but in sullenness for an injury that is done him. This observation is Madam Dacier's, and will often appear just as we proceed farther. Nothing is finer than the moral shown us in this quarrel, of the blindness and partiality of mankind to their own faults: the Grecians make a war to recover a woman that was ravished, and are in danger to fail in the attempt by a dispute about another. Agamemnon while he is revenging a rape, commits one; and Achilles while he is in the utmost fury himself, reproaches Agamemnon for his passionate temper. P.

Conformable to the spirit of this remark are the lines of Horace, epist. 1. 2.

Seditione, dolis, scelere, atque libidine, et irâ,
 Iliacos intra muros peccatur, et extra :
 In strifes and plots, rebellion, lust, and rage,
 Trojans and Greeks with equal zeal engage.

Thine in each conquest is the wealthy prey,
 Tho' mine the sweat and danger of the day.
 Some trivial present to my ships I bear,
 Or barren praises pay the wounds of war. 220
 But know, proud monarch, I'm thy slave no
 more ;
 My fleet shall waft me to Theffalia's shore.
 Left by Achilles on the Trojan plain,
 What spoils, what conquests shall Atrides gain ?

Ver. 215.] He has substituted this for a different thought in his original, which several of the translators, on account of it's ambiguity, have agreed to omit: thus represented by Hobbes:

And, when the city Troy we shall have got,
 Your share will great, mine little be, therein:

but I prefer Mr. Cowper's acceptation of the passage, with the old commentators:

I never gain, what Trojan town foe'er
 We ranfack, half thy booty:

as Chapman also understood it.

Ver. 218.] He profited by Dryden:

Tho' mine are first in fight to force *the prey* ;
 And last sustain *the labours of the day*.

Homer only says:

And yet my hands conduct the greatest share
 Of furious war:

and verse 216 is the mere invention of our translator. The next rhymes are bad.

Ver. 221.] This contraction is vulgar. Thus:

But know, proud king! my fleet to *Phthia's* shore
 Shall *straight convey* me, *now* thy slave no more.

Ver. 223.] More exactly thus:

To this the King : Fly, mighty warrior !
 fly, 225
 Thy aid we need not, and thy threats defy.
 There want not chiefs in such a cause to fight,
 And Jove himself shall guard a monarch's right.
 Of all the kings (the Gods distinguish'd care)
 To pow'r superiour none such hatred bear : 230

*Then see, inglorious on the Trojan plain,
 What spoils, what wealth thy greedy hands shall gain.*

Ver. 225. *Fly, mighty warrior.*] Achilles having threatened to leave them in the former speech, and spoken of his warlike actions; the poet here puts an artful piece of spite into the mouth of Agamemnon, making him opprobriously brand his retreat as a flight, and lessen the appearance of his courage, by calling it the love of contention and slaughter. P.

Ver. 226.] This fine addition to the original he formed upon Dryden's version :

We need not such a friend, nor fear we such a foe.

Ver. 227.] Our author traces the steps of his master in poetry :

*There will not want to follow me in fight,
 Jove will assist, and Jove assert my right.*

Ver. 229. *Kings, the Gods distinguish'd care.*] In the original it is Διοτρεφεῖς, or *nurſt by Jove*. Homer often uses to call his kings by such epithets as Διογενεῖς, *born of the Gods*, or Διοτρεφεῖς, *bred by the Gods*; by which he points out to themselves, the offices they were ordained for; and to their people, the reverence that should be paid them. These expressions are perfectly in the exalted style of the eastern nations, and correspondent to those places of holy scripture where they are called *Gods*, and *the sons of the most High*. P.

These epithets in the poets of antiquity were suggested by the power of kings, and their opportunities of service to mankind; resembling in these respects the omnipotent givers of good things : Δεοί, δωτῆρες ἐόντες : Od. ☉. 325.

Strife and debate thy restless soul employ,
 And wars and horrors are thy savage joy.
 If thou hast strength, 'twas Heaven that strength
 bestow'd,
 For know, vain man! thy valour is from God.
 Haste, launch thy vessels, fly with speed
 away, 235
 Rule thy own realms with arbitrary sway:
 I heed thee not, but prize at equal rate
 Thy short-liv'd friendship, and thy groundless
 hate.
 Go, threat thy earth-born myrmidons; but here
 'Tis mine to threaten, Prince, and thine to
 fear. 240
 Know, if the God the beauteous dame demand,
 My bark shall waft her to her native land;

Homer says literally:

To me most odious of Jove-nurtur'd kings;

but Dryden:

But thou *of all the Kings* (his care below)——.

Ver. 232.] This resembles Dryden:

Debates, dissentions, uproars are thy joy.

The following rhymes are vicious.

Ver. 242.] This also favours of Dryden:

The ship *shall waft her* to her wish'd abode;

who followed Chapman:

——— she shall go;

My ships and friends *shall waft her* home.

But then prepare, imperious Prince ! prepare,
 Fierce as thou art, to yield thy captive fair :
 Ev'n in thy tent I'll seize the blooming prize, ²⁴⁵
 Thy lov'd Briseïs with the radiant eyes.
 Hence shalt thou prove my might, and curse
 the hour,
 Thou stood'st a rival of imperial pow'r ;
 And hence to all our host it shall be known,
 That kings are subject to the Gods alone. ²⁵⁰
 Achilles heard, with grief and rage oppress'd,
 His heart swell'd high, and labour'd in his
 breast.

Ver. 249.] This couplet is an injudicious expansion of the original, and in some measure an inconsistency ; as Achilles was a *king* like himself. Ogilby is undignified, but represents his author very faithfully. I shall give his couplet with a trivial correction :

That all from this example may beware
 Thus to dispute, and haughtily compare,

Ver. 251.] In this description the contrast between *rage* and *reason* is engrafted on the original from Dryden.

Moreover, Homer says simply :

He spake, and grief arose to Peleus son :
 but Dacier has :

“ Achille, pénétré de douleur et de rage.”

Besides, our poet has borrowed his rhymes from Ogilby :

Achilles then *with extream grief oppress'd,*
 Felt mighty strugglings *in his manly breast :*

and the reader, after seeing a plain representation of Homer, will, perhaps, be gratified by observing how closely our poet keeps by the side of Dryden :

He said :

Distracting thoughts by turns his bosom rul'd,
 Now fir'd by wrath, and now by reason cool'd :
 That prompts his hand to draw the deadly
 sword, 255
 Force thro' the Greeks, and pierce their haughty
 Lord ;
 This whispers soft, his vengeance to controul,
 And calm the rising tempest of his soul.
 Just as in anguish of suspense he stay'd,
 While half unsheath'd appear'd the glitt'ring
 blade, 260

Pelides deep vexation felt :
 His heart deliberates in his savage breast :
 and thus Dryden amplifies :

At this th' impatient hero sourly smil'd ;
 His heart impetuous in his bosom boil'd,
 And jostled by two tides of equal sway,
 Stood for a while *suspended* in his way ;
 Betwixt his *reason* and his *rage* untam'd ;
 One *whisper'd soft*, and one aloud reclaim'd.
 That only counsell'd to the safer side ;
 This to the sword his ready hand apply'd.

Ver. 253.] Thus, with better rhymes :

Distracting thoughts by turns his *mind engage*,
 Now cool'd by reason, and now fir'd by *rage*.

Ver. 260.] Homer says : " He was drawing his sword : "
 but Dryden :

Half shone his falchion, and *half-sheathed* it stood :
 after Ogilby :

His sword *half out*.

But our poet was thinking of Dryden's Cecilia :

And *half-unsheath'd the shining blade*.

Minerva swift descended from above,
 Sent by the * sister and the wife of Jove;
 (For both the princes claim'd her equal care)
 Behind she stood, and by the golden hair
 Achilles seiz'd; to him alone confest; 265
 A fable cloud conceal'd her from the rest.
 He sees, and sudden to the Goddess cries,
 Known by the flames that sparkle from her eyes.

Ver. 261. *Minerva swift descended from above.*] Homer having by degrees raised Achilles to such a pitch of fury, as to make him capable of attempting Agamemnon's life in the council, Pallas the Goddess of wisdom descends, and being seen only by him, pulls him back in the very instant of execution. He parleys with her awhile, as imagining she would advise him to proceed; but upon the promise of such a time wherein there should be a full reparation of his honour, he sheaths his sword in obedience to her. She ascends to Heaven, and he being left to himself, falls again upon his general with bitter expressions. The *allegory* here may be allowed by every reader to be unforced: the prudence of Achilles checks him in the rashest moment of his anger, it works upon him unseen to others, but does not entirely prevail upon him to desist till he remembers his own importance, and depends upon it that there will be a necessity of their courting him at any expence into the alliance again. Having persuaded himself by such reflections, he forbears to attack his general; but thinking that he sacrifices enough to *prudence* by this forbearance, lets the thoughts of it vanish from him; and no sooner is wisdom gone, but he falls into more violent reproaches for the gratification of his passion. All this is a most beautiful passage, whose moral is evident, and generally agreed on by the commentators. P.

Ver. 266.] This is an addition to his author from Dryden:

Just as in act he stood, *in clouds intwin'd*——.

Ver. 268. *Known by the flames that sparkle from her eyes.*] They who carry on this allegory after the most minute manner, refer this

* *Juno.*

Descends Minerva in her guardian care,
 A heav'nly witness of the wrongs I bear 270
 From Atreus son? Then let those eyes that view
 The daring crime, behold the vengeance too.

to the eyes of Achilles, as indeed we must, if we entirely destroy the bodily appearance of Minerva. But what poet designing to have his moral so open, would take pains to form it into a fable? In the proper mythological sense, this passage should be referred to Minerva; according to an opinion of the ancients, who supposed that the Gods had a peculiar light in their eyes. That Homer was not ignorant of this opinion, appears from his use of it in other places, as when in the third Iliad Helena by this means discovers Venus: and that he meant it here, is particularly asserted by Heliodorus, in the third book of his *Æthiopick* history. "The Gods," says he, are known in their apparitions to men by the fixed glare of their eyes, or their gliding passage through air without moving their feet; these marks Homer has used from his knowledge of the *Ægyptian* learning, applying one to Pallas, and the other to Neptune." Madam Dacier has gone into the contrary opinion, and blames Eustathius and others, without overthrowing these authorities, or assigning any other reason, but that it was not proper for Minerva's eyes to *sparkle*, when her speech was mild. P.

He follows here the generality of editors and translators. Thus Maynwaring, for example:

He knew the goddess by her sparkling eyes:
 but I prefer Tickell's acceptance, which is mentioned also by several of the old interpreters:

Sudden he turn'd, and started with surprise;
 Rage and revenge flash'd dreadful in his eyes.

Ver. 272.] This is not formed from Homer, but from Dryden:

Cam'st thou, celestial, to behold my wrongs?
 To view the vengeance, which to crimes belongs?

who followed Chapman, not himself unobserved by our poet:

Then witness, with it, my revenge.

Forbear! (the progeny of Jove replies)
 To calm thy fury I forsake the skies:
 Let great Achilles, to the Gods resign'd, 275
 To reason yield the empire o'er his mind.
 By awful Juno this command is giv'n;
 The king and you are both the care of Heav'n.
 The force of keen reproaches let him feel,
 But sheath, obedient, thy revenging steel. 280
 For I pronounce (and trust a heav'nly pow'r)
 Thy injur'd honour has its fated hour,
 When the proud monarch shall thy arms
 implore,
 And bribe thy friendship with a boundless store.
 Then let revenge no longer bear the sway, 285
 Command thy passions, and the Gods obey.
 To her Pelides. With regardful ear
 'Tis just, O Goddess! I thy dictates hear.
 Hard as it is, my vengeance I suppress:
 Those who revere the Gods, the Gods will
 blefs. 290

Ver. 273.] For these *four* verses, Homer has only,
 I came to quell thy rage, wouldst thou obey,
 From Heaven:
 so that our translator adjusted his movements by Dryden:
 I come to calm thy turbulence of mind,
 If reason will resume her *sov'reign* sway;
 who consulted Chapman:

He said, observant of the blue-ey'd maid ;
 Then in the sheath return'd the shining blade.
 The Goddess swift to high Olympus flies,
 And joins the sacred senate of the skies.

Nor yet the rage his boiling breast forsook, 295
 Which thus redoubling on Atrides broke.
 O monster ! mix'd of insolence and fear,
 Thou dog in forehead, but in heart a deer !

I come from heaven to see
 Thy anger settled : if thy soule will use *her* soveraigntie
 In fit reflection.

Ver. 292.] Tickell and Travers are more accurate. Thus the latter :

Thus spoke the chief, obsequious to her word :
 Then *grasp'd the hilt*, and sheath'd the mighty sword.
 Ogilby's couplet, with little correction, is good and faithful :
 Then on *the* silver hilt he laid his hand,
 And sheath'd his dreadful sword *at her command*.

Ver. 294.] So Dryden :
 And mix'd among *the senate* of the Gods.

Ver. 295.] The rhyme will be rectified by altering the *tense*, in writing *forsakes* and *breaks*.

This speech our translator has executed with incomparable spirit. But Homer says only : “ He did not suppress his rage : ” so that our poet follows Dryden :

The fire she fann'd with *greater fury* burn'd.

Ver. 298. *Thou dog in forehead.*] It has been one of the objections against the manners of Homer's heroes, that they are abusive. Mons. de la Motte affirms in his discourse upon the Iliad, that great men differ from the vulgar in their manner of expressing their passion ; but certainly in violent passions (such as those of Achilles and Agamemnon) the great are as subject as any others to these fallies ; of which we have frequent examples both from history and experience. Plutarch, taking notice of this line, gives

When wert thou known in ambush'd fights to
dare,

Or nobly face the horrid front of war? 300

'Tis ours, the chance of fighting fields to try,
Thine to look on, and bid the valiant die.

So much 'tis safer thro' the camp to go,
And rob a subject, than despoil a foe.

Scourge of thy people, violent and base! 305

Sent in Jove's anger on a slavish race,

it as a particular commendation of Homer, that, "he constantly
"affords us a fine lecture of morality in his reprehensions and prai-
"ses, by referring them not to the goods of fortune or the body,
"but those of the mind, which are in our power, and for which
"we are blameable or praise-worthy. Thus, says he, Agamem-
"non is reproached for impudence and fear, Ajax for vain brag-
"ging, Idomeneus for the love of contention, and Ulysses does
"not reprove even Therfites but as a babbler, though he had so
"many personal deformities to object to him. In like manner
"also the appellations and epithets with which they accost one ano-
"ther, are generally founded on some distinguishing qualification
"of merit, as *wise Ulysses, Hector equal to Jove in wisdom, Achilles*
"*chief glory of the Greeks,*" and the like. Plutarch of reading
Poets. P.

Ver. 299. *In ambush'd fights to dare.*] Homer has magnified the
ambush as the boldest manner of fight. They went upon those
parties with a few men only, and generally the most daring of the
army, on occasions of the greatest hazard, where they were there-
fore more exposed than in a regular battle. Thus Idomeneus in
the thirteenth book, expressly tells Meriones, that the greatest
courage appears in this way of service, each man being in a man-
ner singled out to the proof of it. *Eustathius.* P.

Ver. 300.] This noble verse excites a regret for the imperfec-
tion of the rhymes, and their too great resemblance to those of the
preceding couplet.

Who lost to sense of gen'rous freedom past,
 Are tam'd to wrongs, or this had been thy last.
 Now by this sacred sceptre, hear me swear,
 Which never more shall leaves or blossoms
 bear,

310.

Ver. 309. *Now by this sacred sceptre.*] Spondanus in this place blames Eustathius, for saying that Homer makes Achilles in his passion swear by the first thing he meets with: and then assigns (as from himself) two causes, which the other had mentioned so plainly before, that it is a wonder they could be overlooked. The substance of the whole passage in Eustathius, is, that if we consider the sceptre simply as wood, Achilles after the manner of the ancients takes in his transport the first thing to swear by; but that Homer himself has in the process of the description assigned reasons why it is proper for the occasion, which may be seen by considering it symbolically. First, That as the wood being cut from the tree will never reunite and flourish, so neither should their amity ever flourish again, after they were divided by this contention.—Secondly, That a sceptre being the mark of power, and symbol of justice, to swear by it might in effect be construed swearing by the God of power, and by justice itself; and accordingly it is spoken of by Aristotle, 3. l. Polit. as a usual solemn oath of kings.

I cannot leave this passage without shewing, in opposition to some moderns who have criticised upon it as tedious, that it has been esteemed a beauty by the ancients, and engaged them in its imitation. Virgil has almost transcribed it in his 12 Æn. for the sceptre of Latinus.

“ Ut sceptrum hoc (sceptrum dextrâ nam fortè gerebat)

“ Nunquam fronde levi fundet virgulta nec umbras;

“ Cùm semel in sylvis imo de stirpe recisum,

“ Matre caret, posuitque comas & brachia ferro:

“ Olim arbos, nunc artificis manus ære decoro

“ Inclusit, patribusque dedit gestare Latinis.”

But I cannot think this comes up to the spirit or propriety of Homer, notwithstanding the judgment of Scaliger, who decides for Virgil,

Which sever'd from the trunk (as I from thee)
 On the bare mountains left its parent tree ;
 This sceptre, form'd by temper'd steel to prove
 An ensign of the delegates of Jove,
 From whom the pow'r of laws and justice
 springs :

315

(Tremendous oath ! inviolate to kings)
 By this I swear, when bleeding Greece again
 Shall call Achilles, she shall call in vain.

upon a trivial comparison of the wording in each, l. 5. cap. 3. Poet. It fails in a greater point than any he has mentioned, which is, that being there used on occasion of a peace, it has no emblematical reference to division, and yet describes the cutting of the wood and its incapacity to bloom and branch again, in as many words as Homer. It is borrowed by Valerius Flaccus in his third book, where he makes Jason swear as a warrior by his spear,

“ Hanc ego magnanimi spoliū Didymaonis hastam,
 “ Ut semel est avulsa jugis à matre perempta,
 “ Quæ neque jam frondes virides neque proferet umbras,
 “ Fida ministeria & duras obit horrida pugnas,
 “ Testor.”

And indeed, however he may here borrow some expressions from Virgil, or fall below him in others, he has nevertheless kept to Homer in the emblem, by introducing the oath upon Jason's grief for failing to Colchis without Hercules, when he had separated him from the body of the Argonauts to search after Hylas. To render the beauty of this passage more manifest, the allusion is inserted (but with the fewest words possible) in this translation. P.

These are the rhymes of Chapman, Ogilby, Dryden, and Maynwaring.

Ver. 311. *As I from thee.*] An addition to the original, alluded to in the translator's note.

When flush'd with slaughter, Hector comes to
spread

The purpled shore with mountains of the dead,
Then shalt thou mourn th' affront thy madness
gave, 321

Forc'd to deplore, when impotent to save:
Then rage in bitterness of soul, to know
This act has made the bravest Greek thy foe.

He spoke; and furious hurl'd against the
ground 325

His sceptre starr'd with golden studs around.
Then sternly silent sat. With like disdain,
The raging king return'd his frowns again.

Ver. 319.] For this lofty couplet, Homer has merely,
When many fall by murderous Hector's hands:
but our poet kept to Dryden:

*When Hector comes, the homicide, to wield
His conqu'ring arms, with corps to strew the field.*

Ver. 321.] These four verses are expanded from Dryden:
Then shalt thou mourn thy pride, and late confess
My wrongs repented, when 'tis past redress.

The original only says:

— Then shalt thou fret thine inmost soul,
Griev'd that thou honour'd'st not the best of Greeks.

Ver. 324. *Thy rashness made the bravest Greek thy foe.*] If self-praise had not been agreeable to the haughty nature of Achilles, yet Plutarch has mentioned a case, and with respect to him, wherein it is allowable. He says that Achilles has at other times ascribed his success to Jupiter, but it is permitted to a man of merit and figure who is injuriously dealt with, to speak frankly of himself to those who are forgetful and unthankful. P.

To calm their passion with the words of age,
 Slow from his seat arose the Pylian sage, 330
 Experienc'd Nestor, in persuasion skill'd,
 Words, sweet as honey, from his lips distill'd:
 Two generations now had past away,
 Wise by his rules, and happy by his sway;

Ver. 330.] This is alike contrary to nature and his original.
 He had a good example in Ogilby:

Then *started* Nestor up.

And he should have written:

Quick from his seat *starts up* the Pylian sage.

Ver. 332.] From Dryden:

Words, sweet as honey, from his mouth distill'd.

But he might have expressed his original with perfect accuracy at the expence of no greater ambiguity, than such as perpetually appears in *English* poetry from a defect of those terminations, characteristic of *cases*, in the ancient languages; thus:

His lips *more* sweet than honey words distill'd.

Ogilby is neat:

Sweeter than honey was his fluent tongue.

Ver. 333. *Two generations.*] The commentators make not Nestor to have lived three hundred years (according to Ovid's opinion;) they take the word *γῆρας* not to signify a century or age of the world; but a generation, or compass of time in which one set of men flourish, which in the common computation is thirty years; and accordingly is here translated as much the more probable.

From what Nestor says in this speech, Madam Dacier computes the age he was of at the end of the Trojan war. The fight of the Lapithæ and Centaurs fell out fifty-five or fifty-six years before the war of Troy: the quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles happened in the tenth and last year of that war. It was then sixty-five or sixty-six years since Nestor fought against the Centaurs; he was capable at that time of giving counsel; so that one cannot imagine him to have been under twenty: from whence it will appear that he was now almost arrived to the conclusion of his third age,

Two ages o'er his native realm he reign'd, 335
 And now th' example of the third remain'd.
 All view'd with awe the venerable man ;
 Who thus with mild benevolence began :

What shame, what woe is this to Greece !
 what joy
 To Troy's proud monarch, and the friends of
 Troy ! 340

and about fourscore and five, or fourscore and six years of age. P.

Ver. 334.] This fine verse is our translator's own invention :
 and so verse 337. The couplet, however, from it's turn and pauses,
 seems to be an improvement on Maynwaring :

Two generations in that realm were dead,
 Born in his reign, and by his precepts bred.

Ver. 339. *What shame.*] The quarrel having risen to its highest extravagance, Nestor the wisest and most aged Greek is raised to quiet the princes, whose speech is therefore framed entirely with an opposite air to all which has been hitherto said, sedate and in-offensive. He begins with a soft affectionate complaint, which he opposes to their threats and haughty language ; he reconciles their attention in an awful manner, by putting them in mind that they hear one whom their fathers and the greatest heroes had heard with deference. He sides with neither, that he might not anger any one, while he advises them to the proper methods of reconciliation ; and he appears to side with both while he praises each, that they may be induced by the recollection of one another's worth to return to that amity which would bring success to the cause. It was not however consistent with the plan of the poem, that they should entirely be appeased, for then the anger would be at an end, which was proposed as the subject of the poem. Homer has not therefore made this speech to have its full success ; and yet that the eloquence of his Nestor might not be thrown out of character by its proving unavailable, he takes care that the violence with which the dispute was managed should abate immediately upon his speaking ;

That adverse Gods commit to stern debate
 The best, the bravest of the Grecian state.
 Young as ye are, this youthful heat restrain,
 Nor think your Nestor's years and wisdom vain.
 A Godlike race of heroes once I knew, 345
 Such, as no more these aged eyes shall view !
 Lives there a chief to match Pirithous' fame,
 Dryas the bold, or Ceneus' deathless name ;
 Theseus, endu'd with more than mortal might,
 Or Polyphemus, like the Gods in fight ? 350

Agamemnon confesses that all he spoke was right, Achilles promises not to fight for Briseis if she should be sent for, and the council dissolves.

It is to be observed that this character of authority and wisdom in Nestor, is every where admirably used by Homer, and made to exert itself through all the great emergencies of the poem. As he quiets the princes here, he proposes that expedient which reduces the army into their order after the sedition in the second book. When the Greeks are in the utmost distresses, 'tis he who advises the building the fortification before the fleet, which is the chief means of preserving them. And it is by his persuasion that Patroclus puts on the armour of Achilles, which occasions the return of that hero, and the conquest of Troy. P.

So Dacier in the same words :—" *O quelle douleur pour la Grece, et quell joye, pour Priam.*—"

Ver. 341.] This thought is not in Homer ; nor does it appear whence our translator derived it. The rhymes are from Ogilby :

Should fame acquaint them with your high *debate*,
 Whose strength and wisdom prop *the Grecian state*.

Ver. 346.] So Dryden :

Than these dim eyes shall e'er behold agen.

Ogilby expresses all the sense of the author in one good line :

I never saw, nor shall see, men like them.

With these of old to toils of battle bred,
In early youth my hardy days I led ;
Fir'd with the thirst which virtuous envy breeds,
And smit with love of honourable deeds.
Strongest of men, they pierc'd the mountain boar,
Rang'd the wild deserts red with monsters' }
gore, 356
And from their hills the shaggy Centaurs tore. }
Yet these with soft, persuasive arts I sway'd ;
When Nestor spoke, they listen'd and obey'd.
If in my youth, ev'n these esteem'd me wise ; 360
Do you, young warriors, hear my age advise.
Atrides seize not on the beauteous slave ;
'That prize the Greeks by common suffrage gave :
Nor thou, Achilles, treat our prince with pride ;
Let kings be just, and sov'reign power preside.

Ver. 353.] This couplet is supernumerary, and represents no part of the original. It was created from a hemistick of Dryden :

Their dangers to divide, *their fame to share.*

Ver. 355.] He enlarges on his original in these three verses, of inferiour merit. One line of Travers fully expresses the *two* last of our poet with respect to Homer. The former is my own:

Against the mightiest they their might employ'd,
And the fierce monsters of the hills destroy'd.

Ver. 358.] Homer says simply :

They heard my counfels, and obey'd my speech :
but our poet copied Dryden :

— yet those I sway'd
With pow'rful speech; I spoke, and they obey'd.

Thee, the first honours of the war adorn, 366
 Like Gods in strength, and of a Goddess born;
 Him, awful majesty exalts above

The pow'rs of earth, and scepter'd sons of Jove.
 Let both unite with well-consenting mind, 370
 So shall authority with strength be join'd.

Leave me, O king! to calm Achilles' rage;
 Rule thou thyself, as more advanc'd in age.
 Forbid it Gods! Achilles should be lost,
 The pride of Greece, and bulwark of our
 host. 375

This said, he ceas'd: the king of men replies:
 Thy years are awful, and thy words are wise.
 But that imperious, that unconquer'd soul,
 No laws can limit, no respect controul.

Before his pride must his superiours fall, 380
 His word the law, and he the lord of all?
 Him must our hosts, our chiefs, ourself obey?
 What king can bear a rival in his sway?

Grant that the Gods his matchless force have
 giv'n;

Has foul reproach a privilege from heav'n? 385

Ver. 370.] This couplet is interpolated by our translator.

Ver. 371.] Thus correct the rhyme:

So *be* authority with strength *combin'd*.

Ver. 374.] The rhymes are Dryden's:

The son of Thetis *rampire of our host*,

Is worth our care to keep: nor shall my pray'rs *be lost*.

Here on the monarch's speech Achilles broke,
 And furious, thus, and interrupting spoke.
 Tyrant, I well deserv'd thy galling chain,
 To live thy slave, and still to serve in vain,
 Should I submit to each unjust decree: 390
 Command thy vassals, but command not me.
 Seize on Briseïs, whom the Grecians doom'd
 My prize of war, yet tamely see resum'd;
 And seize secure; no more Achilles draws
 His conqu'ring sword in any woman's cause. 395

Ver. 387.] An empty line of repetition unwarranted by his author. One might have supposed him to have consulted the French version of Barbin, who is no less redundant on this occasion: "Achille, dont le cœur estoit toujours ému de colere, ne pût l'entendre plus long temps: il l'interrompit, en luy faisant cette repartie."

Ver. 394. — *No more Achilles draws*

His conqu'ring sword in any woman's cause.]

When Achilles promises not to contest for Briseïs, he expresses it in a sharp despising air, *I will not fight for the sake of a woman*: by which he glances at Helena, and casts an oblique reflection upon those commanders whom he is about to leave at the siege for her cause. One may observe how well it is fancied of the poet, to make one woman the ground of a quarrel which breaks an alliance that was only formed upon account of another: and how much the circumstance thus considered contributes to keep up the anger of Achilles, for carrying on the poem beyond this dissolution of the council. For (as he himself argues with Ulysses in the sixth Iliad) it is as reasonable for him to retain his anger upon the account of Briseïs, as for the brothers with all Greece to carry on a war upon the score of Helena. I do not know that any commentator has taken notice of this sarcasm of Achilles, which I think a very obvious one. P.

The Gods command me to forgive the past;
 But let this first invasion be the last:
 For know, thy blood, when next thou dar'st
 invade,

Shall stream in vengeance on my reeking blade.

At this they ceas'd; the stern debate expir'd: 400
 The chiefs in sullen majesty retir'd.

Achilles with Patroclus took his way,
 Where near his tents his hollow vessels lay.
 Mean time Atrides launch'd with num'rous
 oars

A well-rigg'd ship for Chrysa's sacred shores: 405

Ver. 396.] He disguises and curtails his author, whose sense is accurately given by Travers:

This hand with thee all future strife shall wave,
 Since Greece has robb'd me of the prize she gave.

What other spoils our fable ships contain,
 From these let thy rapacious hand refrain:

so that the line before us is the supplement of our poet, and a supplement not very suitable to the character of the speaker.

Ver. 399.] Our author here consulted Chapman:

— then be sure, *thy blood upon my lance*
Shall flow in vengeance.

Ver. 400.] This is stiff and affected. Mr. Travers has succeeded better:

The scene of discord now began to close,
 And fierce Achilles, as the council rose,
 March'd with Patroclus.—

Ver. 404.] I prefer Mr. Travers' Translation:

Meanwhile Atrides launch'd along the shores
 His galley, row'd by twice ten chosen oars:
 First, for the God a hecatomb inclos'd,
 Then fair Chryseis on the deck dispos'd.

High on the deck was fair Chryseïs plac'd,
 And sage Ulysses with the conduct grac'd:
 Safe in her sides the hecatomb they stow'd,
 Then swiftly sailing, cut the liquid road.

The host to expiate, next the king prepares, 410
 With pure lustrations, and with solemn pray'rs.
 Wash'd by the briny wave, the pious train
 Are cleans'd; and cast th' ablutions in the main.
 Along the shore whole hecatombs were laid,
 And bulls and goats to Phœbus' altars paid. 415
 The fable fumes in curling spires arise,
 And waft their grateful odours to the skies.

Ver. 407.] Thus Maynwaring:

And wise Ulysses with command was grac'd.

Ver. 408.] From Dryden:

Within *her* hollow *sides* the sacrifice he *stow'd*.

Ver. 409.] Thus Maynwaring:

The well-trimm'd pinnace plough'd *the liquid road*.

Ver. 413. *Th' ablutions*.] All our former English translations seem to have erred in the sense of this line, the word *λούματα* being differently rendered by them, *offals*, or *entrails*, or *purgaments*, or *ordures*, a gross set of ideas, of which Homer is not guilty.—The word comes from *λῶ*, eluo, the same verb from whence *ἐπιλυμαίνοντο*, which precedes in the line, is derived. So that the sense appears to be as it is rendered here, [*They washed, and threw away their washings*.] Perhaps this lustration might be used as a physical remedy in cleansing them from the infection of the plague; as Pausanias tells us it was by the Arcadians, from whence he says the plague was called *λύμη* by the Greeks. P.

Ver. 416.] This couplet is excellent indeed; and beautifully expressive of his original. Chapman is dextrous and exact:

The army thus in sacred rites engag'd,
 Atrides still with deep resentment rag'd.
 To wait his will two sacred heralds stood, 420
 Talthybius and Eurybates the good.
 Haste to the fierce Achilles' tent (he cries)
 Thence bear Briseïs as our royal prize:
 Submit he must; or if they will not part,
 Ourself in arms shall tear her from his heart. 425
 Th'unwilling heralds act their lord's commands;
 Penfive they walk along the barren sands:
 Arriv'd, the hero in his tent they find,
 With gloomy aspect, on his arm reclin'd.

—— to heaven the thicke fumes bore
 Enwrapped favours.

Ogilby too deserves quotation:

In clouds of curled smoak the favour flies
 From sea-wash'd margins to the arched skies.

Ver. 421.] With a similar addition, Dryden:
 Talthybius, and Eurybates *the just*.

Ver. 424.] Travers with more fidelity:

Else, what his angry soul will more inflame,
 With arms I'll come, and seize the beauteous dame.

Ver. 427.] Homer says:

—— the shore of the *barren sea*:

but Dryden:

And o'er the *barren shore* pursue their way;

after Ogilby; who with slight correction is very respectable;

Reluctant they th' unwelcome message bore
 Along the murmuring ocean's *barren shore*.

Ver. 429.] He took this mean extraneous thought and the
 rhymes from Dryden:

At awful distance long they silent stand, 430
 Loth to advance, or speak their hard command;
 Decent confusion! This the Godlike man
 Perceiv'd, and thus with accent mild began.

With leave and honour enter our abodes,
 Ye sacred ministers of men and Gods! 435
 I know your message; by constraint you came;
 Not you, but your imperious lord I blame.

Their sov'reign seated on his chair *they find*:
 His pensive cheek *upon his hand reclin'd*:
 who has also immediately below,

With gloomy looks he saw them ent'ring in.

Ver. 430. *At awful distance silent.*] There was required a very remarkable management to preserve all the characters which are concerned in this nice conjuncture, wherein the heralds were to obey at their peril; Agamemnon was to be gratified by an insult on Achilles; and Achilles was to suffer so as might become his pride, and not have his violent temper provoked. From all this the poet has found the secret to extricate himself, by only taking care to make his heralds stand in fight, and silent. Thus they neither make Agamemnon's majesty suffer by uttering their message submissively, nor occasion a rough treatment from Achilles by demanding Briseïs in the peremptory air he ordered; and at the same time Achilles is gratified with the opportunity of giving her up, as if he rather sent her than was forced to relinquish her. The art of this has been taken notice of by Eustathius. P.

Ver. 435.] His original is literally thus:

Hail, heralds, messengers of Jove and men;
 so that our poet consulted Dacier on this occasion: "*Sacrés*
 "*ministres des dieux et des hommes.*"

Ver. 437.] Dryden says:

I blame not you, but your imperious king.

Chapman has:

I nothing blame you, but your king.

Patroclus haste, the fair Briseïs bring;
 Conduct my captive to the haughty king.
 But witness, heralds, and proclaim my vow, 440
 Witness to Gods above, and men below!
 But first, and loudest, to your prince declare,
 That lawless tyrant whose commands you bear;
 Unmov'd as death Achilles shall remain,
 Tho' prostrate Greece should bleed at ev'ry vein:
 The raging chief in frantick passion lost, 446
 Blind to himself, and useless to his host,
 Unskill'd to judge the future by the past,
 In blood and slaughter shall repent at last.

Patroclus now th' unwilling beauty brought;
 She, in soft sorrows, and in pensive thought, 451

Ver. 438.] He here profited by Ogilby:

Noble Patroclus, forth the virgin *bring*:

But Gods and men, you and your cruell *king*.—

Ver. 444.] In the original, Achilles suddenly discontinues his speech without uttering a severe menace, which he had conceived, from a reluctance to involve the rest of the Greeks in the disastrous consequence of his resentment to their leader. Mr. Cowper alone of all the translators, has retained this propriety.

Ver. 446.] Homer says exactly,

—— he rages with destructive mind,

Nor knows to mark the future and the past:

our author, therefore, borrowed, perhaps, the turn of the passage from Dacier: “C'est un *furieux*, qui n'est capable que de suivre ses vûes pernicieuses; et qui, *ne pouvoit juger de l'avenir par le passé*.—”

Ver. 451. *She in soft sorrows.*] The behaviour of Briseïs in her departure is no less beautifully imagined than the former.— A French or Italian poet had lavished all his wit and passion in two

Past silent, as the heralds held her hand,
 And oft look'd back, slow-moving o'er the strand.
 Not so his loss the fierce Achilles bore;
 But sad retiring to the founding shore, 455
 O'er the wild margin of the deep he hung,
 That kindred deep, from whence his mother
 sprung:

long speeches on this occasion, which the heralds must have wept to hear; instead of which, Homer gives us a fine picture of nature. We see Briseïs passing unwillingly along, with a dejected air, melted in tenderness, and not able to utter a word: and in the lines immediately following, we have a *contraste* to this in the gloomy resentment of Achilles, who suddenly retires to the shore and vents his rage aloud to the seas. The variation of the numbers just in this place adds a great beauty to it, which has been endeavoured at in the translation. P.

His author literally,

The woman with them went against her will;
 but Dacier, like our poet: “ Elle les suivoit à regret and dans une
 “ *profonde tristesse.*”

Ver. 452.] In the first edition thus:

Supported by the chiefs on either hand,

In silence past along the winding strand:

with less deviation from the original than the present reading, which seems to have been taken from Tickell:

Sore sigh'd she, as the heralds took her hand;

And oft look'd back, slow-moving o'er the strand:

as that was formed from Dryden:

She wept, and often cast her eyes behind:

of which latter circumstance there is no trace in Homer.

Much more accurate is Mr. Travers:

Patroclus then his dearest friend obey'd,

And to her guides the beauteous charge convey'd:

Back as they turn'd beside the founding main,

Mov'd the fair dame reluctant o'er the plain.

There, bath'd in tears of anger and disdain,
Thus loud lamented to the stormy main.

O parent Goddess! since in early bloom 460
Thy son must fall, by too severe a doom;
Sure, to so short a race of glory born,
Great Jove in justice should this span adorn:
Honour and fame at least the thund'rer ow'd,
And ill he pays the promise of a God; 465

Ver. 456.] Tickell thus, with more elegance and fidelity:
On the cold beach he sat, and fix'd his eyes,
Where black with storms the curling billows rise:
And, as the sea wide-rolling he survey'd,
With out-stretch'd arms to his fond mother pray'd.

Ver. 457.] The pleasing repetition, "That kindred deep,"
was not suggested by his author, but by Dryden:
Cast on his *kindred seas* a stormy look.

Ver. 458. *There bath'd in tears.*] Eustathius observes on this place that it is no weakness in heroes to weep, but the very effect of humanity and proof of a generous temper; for which he offers several instances, and takes notice that if Sophocles would not let Ajax weep, it is because he is drawn rather as a madman than a hero. But this general observation is not all we can offer in excuse for the tears of Achilles: his are tears of anger and disdain (as I have ventured to call them in the translation) of which a great and fiery temper is more susceptible than any other; and even in this case Homer has taken care to preserve the high character, by making him retire to vent his tears out of sight. And we may add to these an observation of which Madam Dacier is fond. The reason why Agamemnon parts not in tears from Chryseïs, as Achilles does from Briseïs: the one parts willingly from his mistress; and because he does it for his people's safety, it becomes an honour to him: and the other is parted unwillingly, and because his general takes her by force, the action reflects a dishonour upon him. P.

Ver. 464. *The thund'rer ow'd.*] This alludes to a story which Achilles tells the ambassadors of Agamemnon, Il. ix. That he had

If yon proud monarch thus thy son defies,
Obscures my glories, and resumes my prize.

Far from the deep recesses of the main,
Where aged Ocean holds his wat'ry reign,
The goddess-mother hear'd. The waves divide;
And like a mist she rose above the tide; 471
Beheld him mourning on the naked shores,
And thus the sorrows of his soul explores.
Why grieves my son? Thy anguish let me share,
Reveal the cause, and trust a parent's care. 475

the choice of two fates: one less glorious at home, but blessed with a very long life; the other full of glory at Troy, but then he was never to return. The alternative being thus proposed to him (not from Jupiter but Thetis who revealed the decree) he chose the latter, which he looks upon as his due, since he gives away length of life for it: and accordingly when he complains to his mother of the disgrace he lies under, it is in this manner he makes a demand of honour.

Monf. de la Motte very judiciously observes, that but for this fore-knowledge of the certainty of his death at Troy, Achilles's character could have drawn but little esteem from the reader. A hero of a vicious mind, blest only with a superiority of strength, and invulnerable into the bargain, was not very proper to excite admiration; but Homer by this exquisite piece of art has made him the greatest of heroes, who is still pursuing glory in contempt of death, and even under that certainty generously devoting himself in every action. P.

Ver. 474. Homer says literally:

Speak out, conceal not; that we both may know:
but our poet copied Dryden:

Let thy afflicted parent *share* her part:
who followed Ogilby:

Thy bosome ease, and let me *share* thy *woe*.

He deeply sighing said: To tell my woe,
Is but to mention what too well you know.
From Thebè sacred to Apollo's name,
(Aëtion's realm) our conqu'ring army came,

Ver. 477.] This may be regarded as a dextrous apology on Homer's part for the repetition, which is going to be made, in mitigation of fastidious critics.

Ver. 478. *From Thebè.*] Homer, who opened his poem with the action which immediately brought on Achilles's anger, being now to give an account of the same thing again, takes his rise more backward in the story. Thus the reader is informed in what he should know, without having been delayed from entering upon the promised subject. This is the first attempt which we see made towards the poetical method of narration, which differs from the historical, in that it does not proceed always directly in the line of time, but sometimes relates things which have gone before, when a more proper opportunity demands it, to make the narration more informing or beautiful.

The foregoing remark is in regard only to the first six lines of this speech. What follows is a rehearsal of the preceding action of the poem, almost in the same words he had used in the opening it; and is one of those faults which has with most justice been objected to our author. It is not to be denied but the account must be tedious, of what the reader had been just before informed; and especially when we are given to understand it was no way necessary, by what Achilles says at the beginning, that *Thetis knew the whole story already*. As to repeating the same lines, a practice usual with Homer, it is not so excusable in this place as in those, where messages are delivered in the words they were received, or the like; it being unnatural to imagine, that the person whom the poet introduces as actually speaking, should fall into the self-same words that are used in the narration by the poet himself. Yet Milton was so great an admirer and imitator of our author, as not to have scrupled even this kind of repetition. The passage is at the end of his tenth book, where Adam having declared he would prostrate himself before God in certain particular acts of humiliation, those acts are immediately after described by the poet in the same words. P.

With treasure loaded and triumphant spoils, 480
 Whose just division crown'd the soldier's toils;
 But bright Chryseïs, heav'nly prize! was led
 By vote selected, to the gen'ral's bed.

The priest of Phœbus sought by gifts to gain 484
 His beauteous daughter from the victor's chain;

The fleet he reach'd, and lowly bending down,
 Held forth the sceptre and the laurel crown,

Entreating all: but chief implor'd for grace

The brother-kings of Atreus' royal race: 489

The gen'rous Greeks their joint consent declare,

The priest to rev'rence, and release the fair;

Not so Atrides: He, with wonted pride,

The fire insulted, and his gifts deny'd:

Th' insulted fire (his God's peculiar care)

To Phœbus pray'd, and Phœbus heard the pray'r:

It seems to me, that the best account of these repetitions, so much complained of, in Homer, may be derived from the detached manner, in which his poems were scattered among the Greeks. Separate parts were, doubtless, sung at festivals and public entertainments; and, therefore, to complete the sense, a necessity would frequently arise of fetching *introductions* and explanatory verses from preceding parts of the poem. And the same solution may be applied to the recurrence of many single verses at the beginning of speeches throughout the poem,

Ver. 480.] He should have written:

—— With treasure *laden*:

and the rhymes are Dryden's:

The ransack'd city, taken by our *toils*,

We left, and hither brought the golden *spoils*.

A dreadful plague ensues; th' avenging darts 496
 Incessant fly, and pierce the Grecian hearts.
 A prophet then, inspir'd by heav'n arose,
 And points the crime, and thence derives the
 woes:

Myself the first th' assembled chiefs incline 500
 T' avert the vengeance of the pow'r divine;
 Then rising in his wrath, the monarch storm'd;
 Incens'd he threaten'd, and his threats perform'd:
 The fair Chryseïs to her fire was sent,
 With offer'd gifts to make the God relent; 505
 But now he seiz'd Briseïs' heav'nly charms,
 And of my valour's prize defrauds my arms,
 Defrauds the votes of all the Grecian train;
 And service, faith, and justice plead in vain.
 But, Goddess! thou thy suppliant son attend, 510
 To high Olympus' shining court ascend,
 Urge all the ties to former service ow'd,
 And sue for vengeance to the thund'ring God.
 Oft hast thou triumph'd in the glorious boast,
 That thou stood'st forth of all th' æthereal host,

Ver. 514. *Oft hast thou triumph'd.*] The persuasive which Achilles is here made to put into the mouth of Thetis, is most artfully contrived to suit the present exigency. You, says he, must intreat Jupiter to bring miseries on the Greeks, who are protected by Juno, Neptune, and Minerva: put him therefore in mind that those Deities were once his enemies, and adjure him by that service you did him when those very powers would have bound him,

When bold rebellion shook the realms above, 516
 Th' undaunted guard of cloud-compelling Jove.
 When the bright partner of his awful reign,
 The warlike maid, and monarch of the main,

that he will now in his turn assist you against the endeavours they will oppose to my wishes. *Eustathius.*

As for the story itself, some have thought (with whom is Madam Dacier) that there was some imperfect tradition of the fall of the angels for their rebellion, which the Greeks had received by commerce with Ægypt: and thus they account the rebellion of the Gods, the precipitation of Vulcan from heaven, and Jove's threatening the inferiour Gods with Tartarus, but as so many hints of scripture faintly imitated. But it seems not improbable that the wars of the Gods, described by the poets, allude to the confusion of the elements before they were brought into their natural order. It is almost generally agreed that by Jupiter is meant the Æther, and by Juno the *Air*: the ancient philosophers supposed the Æther to be igneous, and by its kind influence upon the *air* to be the cause of all vegetation: therefore Homer says in the xivth Iliad, That upon Jupiter's embracing his wife, the earth put forth its plants. Perhaps by Thetis's assisting Jupiter, may be meant that the watry element subsiding and taking its natural place, put an end to this combat of the elements. P.

Our poet might glance on Ogilby:

Oft in my father's court I heard you *boast*,
 You onely help'd him when he needed most:
 or rather on Maynwaring:

Oft have I heard you in Thessalia *boast*,
 That you alone of all th' æth'ial host
 His fate prevented.

Those readers, who with *allegorical* interpretations, must have recourse to the elegant book of *Heraclides Ponticus*, mentioned above.

Ver. 517.] So Dryden:

Ascend the skies; and, supplicating, move
 Thy just complaint to cloud-compelling Jove.

The traitor-gods, by mad ambition driv'n, 520
Durst threat with chains th' omnipotence of
heav'n.

Then call'd by thee, the monster Titan came,
(Whom Gods Briareus, men Ægeon name)

Thro' wondring skies enormous stalk'd along;

Not* he, that shakes the solid earth, so strong: 525

With giant-pride at Jove's high throne he stands,

And brandish'd round him all his hundred hands;

Th' affrighted Gods confess'd their awful lord,

They dropt the fetters, trembled and ador'd.

This, Goddess, this to his remembrance call, 530

Embrace his knees, at his tribunal fall;

Conjure him far to drive the Grecian train,

To hurl them headlong to their fleet and main,

To heap the shores with copious death, and bring

The Greeks to know the curse of such a king: 535

Ver. 523. *Whom Gods Briareus, men Ægeon name.*] This manner of making the Gods speak a language different from men (which is frequent in Homer) is a circumstance that as far as it widens the distinction between divine and human natures, so far might tend to heighten the reverence paid the Gods. But besides this, as the difference is thus told in poetry, it is of use to the poets themselves: for it appears like a kind of testimony of their inspiration, or their converse with the Gods, and thereby gives a majesty to their works. P.

Ver. 532.] Ogilby is not unlike:

That they may force the routed Greeks again

Back to their fleet, and drive them to the main.

* Neptune.

Let Agamemnon lift his haughty head
O'er all his wide dominion of the dead,
And mourn in blood, that e'er he durst disgrace
The boldest warrior of the Grecian race.

Unhappy son! (fair Thetis thus replies, 540
While tears celestial trickle from her eyes)
Why have I born thee with a mother's throes,
To fates averse, and nurs'd for future woes?
So short a space the light of heav'n to view!
So short a space! and fill'd with sorrow too! 545
O might a parent's careful wish prevail,
Far, far from Ilion should thy vessels sail,
And thou, from camps remote, the danger shun,
Which now, alas! too nearly threatens my son.
Yet (what I can) to move thy suit I'll go 550
To great Olympus crown'd with fleecy snow.

Ver. 541. *Celestial.*] An interpolated thought from Par. Lost. i. 620.
Tears, such as angels weep.

Ver. 542.] This is an imitation of Ogilby:
*Why did I bear thee with such bitter throes,
And breed with pains, to suffer all these woes?*

Ver. 543.] The *first* clause, not in Homer, is from Dryden:
*Ah! wretched me! by fates averse, decreed
To bring thee forth with pain, with care to breed!*

Ver. 545.] Dryden has:
And short, and full of sorrow are thy days:
and Ogilby:

Short is thy life, yet full of grief and care.

Ver. 550.] The contraction *I'll* is unsufferable to my ears,
and, I think, always degrades the higher species of poetry. He

Mean time, secure within thy ships, from far
 Behold the field, nor mingle in the war.
 The fire of Gods and all th' æthereal train,
 On the warm limits of the farthest main, 555
 Now mix with mortals, nor disdain to grace
 The feasts of Æthiopia's blameless race:

might have omitted the sign of the *tense* with much improvement to the spirit of the passage:

Yet (what I can) to move thy suit I go.

Ver. 552.] Tickell, with more fidelity:

Mean time, my son, indulge thy just disdain,

Vent all thy rage, and shun the hostile plain.

Ver. 557. *The feasts of Æthiopia's blameless race.*] The Æthiopians, says Diodorus, l. 3. are said to be the inventors of pomps, sacrifices, solemn meetings, and other honours paid to the Gods. From hence arose their character of piety, which is here celebrated by Homer. Among these there was an annual feast at Diospolis, which Eustathius mentions, wherein they carried about the statues of Jupiter and the other Gods, for twelve days, according to their number: to which if we add the ancient custom of setting meat before statues, it will appear a rite from which this fable might easily arise. But it would be a great mistake to imagine from this place, that Homer represents the Gods as eating and drinking upon earth: a gross notion he was never guilty of, as appears from these verses in the fifth book, v. 340.

Ἰχὼς οἶός τε πέρι μακάρεσσιν θεοῖσιν;

Οὐ γὰρ σίτον ἔδουσ', ἔ πίνουσ' αἰθοπα οἶνον,

Τὸν κ' ἀναίμονές εἰσι, καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται.

(For not the bread of man their life sustains,

Nor wine's inflaming juice supplies their veins.)

Macrobius would have it, that by Jupiter here is meant the sun, and that the number *twelve* hints at the twelve *signs*; but whatever may be said in a critical defence of this opinion, I believe the reader will be satisfied that Homer, considered as a poet, would

Twelve days the pow'rs indulge the genial rite,
Returning with the twelfth revolving light.

Then will I mount the brazen dome, and move
The high tribunal of immortal Jove. 561

The Goddess spoke: the rolling waves unclofe;
Then down the deep she plung'd from whence
she rose,

And left him forrowing on the lonely coast,
In wild resentment for the fair he lost. 565

In Chrysa's port now sage Ulysses rode;
Beneath the deck the destin'd victims stow'd;
The sails they furl'd, they lash'd the mast aside,
And dropt their anchors, and the pinnace ty'd.
Next on the shore their hecatomb they land,
Chryseis last descending on the strand. 571

have his machinery understood upon that system of the Gods which is properly Grecian.

One may take notice here, that it were to be wished some passage were found in any authentick author, that might tell us the time of the year when the Æthiopians kept this festival at Diospolis: for from thence one might determine the precise season of the year wherein the actions of the Iliad are represented to have happened; and perhaps by that means farther explain the beauty and propriety of many passages in the poem. P.

Ver. 562. Our poet weakens the original by unnecessary additions: and ver. 563, is particularly inelegant, as well as ungrammatical. Travers delivers the full meaning in a couplet:

She spoke retiring from the hero's eyes,
Stung to the soul to lose his beauteous prize.

Her, thus returning from the furrow'd main,
 Ulysses led to Phœbus' sacred fane;
 Where at his solemn altar, as the maid
 He gave to Chryses, thus the hero said. 575

Hail rev'rend priest! to Phœbus' awful dome
 A suppliant I from great Atrides come:
 Unransom'd here receive the spotless fair;
 Accept the hecatombs the Greeks prepare;
 And may thy God who scatters darts around,
 Aton'd by sacrifice, desist to wound. 581

At this, the fire embrac'd the maid again,
 So sadly lost, so lately fought in vain.
 Then near the altar of the darting king,
 Dispos'd in rank their hecatomb they bring:
 With water purify their hands, and take
 The sacred off'ring of the salted cake;
 While thus with arms devoutly rais'd in air,
 And solemn voice, the priest directs his pray'r.

Ver. 576.] Homer says only,

O! Chryses:

but Dryden:

Reverenc'd be thou!

Ver. 582.] Homer says,

With this he gave her to her father's arms

The fire with rapture takes his darling child:

so that Travers is preferable for, closeness to his author:

He spoke, and on her fire the maid bestow'd:

The raptur'd fire with joy paternal glow'd.

God of the silver bow, thy ear incline, 590
 Whose pow'r encircles Cilla the divine;
 Whose sacred eye thy Tenedos surveys,
 And gilds fair Chrysa with distinguish'd rays!
 If, fir'd to vengeance at thy priest's request,
 Thy direful darts inflict the raging pest; 595
 Once more attend! avert the wastful woe,
 And smile propitious, and unbend thy bow.

So Chryses pray'd, Apollo heard his pray'r:
 And now the Greeks their hecatomb prepare;
 Between their horns the salted barley threw, 600
 And with their heads to heav'n the victims slew:

Ver. 590.] Thus Dryden:

*God of the silver bow, whose eyes survey
 The sacred Cilla——.*

Ver. 598.] Our poet seems to have had his eye on Ogilby:

*Thus Chryses pray'd. The prayer Apollo heard,
 They, their devotions done, the beasts prepar'd.
 First on their foreheads salt and barley threw;
 The victims then, their necks erecting, slew.*

Ver. 600. *The sacrifice.*] If we consider this passage, it is not made to shine in poetry: all that can be done is to give it numbers, and endeavour to set the particulars in a distinct view. But if we take it in another light, and as a piece of learning, it is valuable for being the most exact account of the ancient sacrifices any where left us. There is first the purification, by washing of hands: secondly the offering up of prayers: thirdly the *mola*, or barley-cake thrown upon the victim: fourthly the manner of killing it with the head turned upwards to the celestial Gods (as they turned it downwards when they offered to the infernals:) fifthly their selecting the thighs and fat for their Gods as the best of the sacrifice, and the disposing about them pieces cut from every part for a representation of the whole; (hence the thighs, or *ῥεγίμα*, are frequently

The limbs they sever from th' inclosing hide;
 The thighs, selected to the Gods, divide:
 On these, in double cawls involv'd with art,
 The choicest morsels lay from ev'ry part. 605
 The priest himself before his altar stands,
 And burns the off'ring with his holy hands,
 Pours the black wine, and sees the flames aspire;
 The youth with instruments surround the fire:
 The thighs thus sacrific'd, and entrails drest, 610
 Th' assistants part, transfix, and roast the rest:

used in Homer and the Greek poets for the whole victim:) sixthly the libation of wine: seventhly consuming the thighs in the fire of the altar: eighthly the sacrificers dressing and feasting on the rest, with joy and hymns to the Gods. Thus punctually have the ancient poets, and in particular Homer, written with a care and respect to religion. One may question whether any country, as much a stranger to christianity as we are to heathenism, might be so well informed by our poets in the worship belonging to any profession of religion at present.

I am obliged to take notice how entirely Mr. Dryden has mistaken the sense of this passage, and the custom of antiquity; for in his translation, the cakes are thrown into the fire instead of being cast on the victim: the sacrificers are made to eat the thighs and whatever belonged to the Gods; and no part of the victim is consumed for a burnt offering, so that in effect there is no sacrifice at all. Some of the mistakes (particularly that of *turning the roast meat on the spits*, which was not known in Homer's days) he was led into by Chapman's translation. P.

This is not in the original, which all the translators have variously mistaken. Homer only says, that "they brought forth the salt barley-cakes."

Ver. 606.] Dryden, as follows:

*The priest with holy hands was seen to line
 The cloven wood and pour the ruddy wine.*

Then spread the tables, the repast prepare,
 Each takes his seat, and each receives his share.
 When now the rage of hunger was repress'd,
 With pure libations they conclude the feast; 615
 The youths with wine the copious goblets
 crown'd,
 And pleas'd, dispense the flowing bowls around.
 With hymns divine the joyous banquet ends,
 The Pæans lengthen'd till the fun descends:
 The Greeks, restor'd, the grateful notes prolong;
 Apollo listens, and approves the song. 621
 'Twas night; the chiefs beside their vessel lie,
 'Till rosy morn had purpled o'er the sky:
 Then launch, and hoist the mast; indulgent gales,
 Supply'd by Phœbus, fill the swelling sails; 625

Ver. 614.] The rhyme might be improved thus:

When now the *craving wish* of hunger *ceast*:
 but he had Dryden in view, at *Æneid*. viii. 244:

But, *when the rage of hunger was repress'd*.

Ver. 616.] Thus Ogilby:

*With richer wines they massie goblets crown'd,
 Drinking about, and still the cup went round.*

Ver. 620.] A beautiful couplet, wrought from *four* words of his author: "His mind was delighted, as he listened."

Ver. 623.] Thus Dryden:

The skies with dawning day were purpled o'er:

from whose version our poet borrowed also the vulgar expression in ver. 626.

The bellying canvas strutted with the gale.

The milk-white canvas bellying as they blow,
 The parted ocean foams and roars below:
 Above the bounding billows swift they flew,
 'Till now the Grecian camp appear'd in view.
 Far on the beach they haul their bark to land, 630
 (The crooked keel divides the yellow sand)
 Then part, where stretch'd along the winding bay
 The ships and tents in mingled prospect lay.

But raging still, amidst his navy fat
 The stern Achilles, stedfast in his hate; 635
 Nor mix'd in combat, nor in council join'd;
 But wasting cares lay heavy on his mind:
 In his black thoughts revenge and slaughter roll,
 And scenes of blood rise dreadful in his soul.

Ver. 624.] Much in the same manner Ogilby :

Back to the army they prepare to *sail* :

The God appeas'd sending a prosperous *gale*.

Ver. 626.] Chapman has :

The top-mast hoisted, *milk-white* sails on his round breast they put.

Ver. 632.] For this couplet Homer has only,

They to the tents and ships themselves disperse :

so that our poet was guided by Dryden :

And pitch their tents *along the crooked shore*.

Ver. 638.] Our poet has mistaken his original, (as Tickell also) mislaid, I presume, by Dryden ; who runs thus :

With hopes of *vengeance* on the tyrant's head.

Ogilby, Travers, Chapman, and Cowper, render the passage with fidelity. The versions of the two former I will quote; and first Ogilby, who is by no means worthy of the contempt, in which he is generally holden :

Twelve days were past, and now the dawning
 light 640
 The Gods had summon'd to th' Olympian height:
 Jove first ascending from the wat'ry bow'rs,
 Leads the long order of æthereal pow'rs.

But sad Achilles, full of discontents,
 Neither the council nor the field frequents;
 But, at his fleet remaining, would not fight,
 Though war and battels were his chief delight.

Travers:

Still at his fleet, with gloomy wrath inspir'd,
 The son of Peleus from the Greeks retir'd:
 There pin'd his anxious heart untaught to yield,
 And shun'd alike the council and the field;
 Yet long'd to hear the war's confus'd alarms,
 And the loud clamours of a field in arms.

Ver. 642.] He was led into this mistake by Dryden's version:

Jove at their head *ascending from the sea*:

whereas Homer had only said, that Jupiter was gone *towards* the ocean on a visit to the Æthiopians, who are said in *Odyssey*, i. 22. to be "the remotest of mankind:" a passage thus referred to by Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 480.

Oceani finem juxta, solemque cadentem,
 Ultimus Æthiopum locus est.

Near farthest ocean and the setting sun
 The realm extreme of Æthiopia lies.

Ogilby is accurate, and not contemptible in neatness:

And now, twelve days expir'd, the feasted Gods,
 Attending Jove, return'd to their abodes.

The remainder of Pope's version, to the speech of Thetis, is neither executed with fidelity, nor all his accustomed elegance. The translations of Tickell and Travers united thus well exhibit the former part:

Twelve days were past, and now th' ethereal train,
 Jove at their head, to heav'n return'd again:

When like the morning mist in early day,
 Rose from the flood the daughter of the sea; 645
 And to the seats divine her flight addrest.
 There, far apart, and high above the rest,
 The thund'rer sat; where old Olympus shrouds
 His hundred heads in heav'n, and props the clouds.
 Suppliant the Goddess stood: one hand she
 plac'd 650
 Beneath his beard, and one his knees embrac'd.
 If e'er, O father of the Gods! she said,
 My words could please thee, or my actions aid;
 Some marks of honour on my son bestow,
 And pay in glory what in life you owe. 655
 Fame is at least by heav'nly promise due
 To life so short, and now dishonour'd too.
 Avenge this wrong, oh ever just and wise!
 Let Greece be humbled, and the Trojans rise;

When careful Thetis with the dawning light
 Rose from the deep, and reach'd th' Olympian height.
 There far apart Saturnian Jove she found;
 High o'er the rest he view'd the prospect round.

Ver. 645.] The rhyme is not accurate; and the phrase of the next verse is, in my opinion, awkward, stiff, and forced, for the convenience of the rhyme.

Ver. 652.] This speech is very poetically executed; but two lines of the original are very slightly touched, which Tickell renders thus:

Punish the king of men, whose lawless sway
 Hath shamed the youth, and seiz'd his destin'd prey.

'Till the proud king, and all th'Achaian race 660
Shall heap with honours him they now disgrace.

Thus Thetis spoke, but Jove in silence held
The sacred councils of his breast conceal'd.
Not so repuls'd, the Goddess closer prest,
Still grasp'd his knees, and urg'd the dear
request. 665

O fire of Gods and men! thy suppliant hear;
Refuse, or grant; for what has Jove to fear?
Or oh! declare, of all the pow'rs above,
Is wretched Thetis least the care of Jove?

—She said, and sighing thus the God replies, 670
Who rolls the thunder o'er the vaulted skies.

Ver. 664.] Ogilby is homely, but justly expressive of his author:
Thetis, as if she grew unto his knee.
Clasping held fast——:

for Homer says literally,

But Thetis, as she first his knees embrac'd,
Still closely clang——:

so that our poet might cast an eye on Dacier's version: "Thetis,
"demeurant toujours attaché à ses genoux, et les serrant plus etroi-
"tement le pressa encore."

Nor was Dryden unnoticed:

'Till she, resolv'd to win, renew'd her suit.

Ver. 667.] Homer says, without an interrogation, or the
mention of a name, "For there is no fear in you;" but Dacier
supplied our poet with this turn of the clause: *Car que'est-ce que*
Jupiter peut craindre?

Ver. 671.] The original is literally this:

Then spake, deep-sighing, cloud-compelling Jove:
but the French translator just mentioned: "Le dieu, qui lance le
"tonnerre."

What hast thou ask'd? Ah why should Jove
engage
In foreign contests and domestick rage,
The Gods' complaints, and Juno's fierce alarms,
While I, too partial, aid the Trojan arms? 675
Go, lest the haughty partner of my sway
With jealous eyes thy close access survey;
But part in peace, secure thy pray'r is sped:
Witness the sacred honours of our head,
The nod that ratifies the will divine, 680
The faithful, fix'd, irrevocable sign;
This seals thy suit, and this fulfils thy vows—
He spoke; and awful bends his sable brows;

Ver. 673.] These "foreign contests," and "Gods' complaints," are gratuitous additions, which weaken the purport of the passage.

Ver. 681. *The faithful, fix'd, irrevocable sign.*] There are among men three things by which the efficacy of a promise may be void; the design not to perform it, the want of power to bring it to pass, and the instability of our tempers; from all which Homer saw that the divinity must be exempted, and therefore he describes the *nod*, or ratification of Jupiter's word, as *faithful*, in opposition to *fraud*; *sure* of being performed, in opposition to *weakness*, and *irrevocable*, in opposition to our *repenting* of a promise.—*Eustathius*. P.

Ver. 682.] Dryden says:

The stamp of heav'n, and seal of fate:
and Dacier: "La marque la plus sûre, dont je scelle la vérité des
"promesses, que je fais aux immortels." Homer has no such word.

Our translator amplifies his original, but has done full justice to the sublimity of this noble passage. The reader will be pleased also with Travers' translation:

Shakes his ambrosial curls, and gives the nod;
 The stamp of Fate, and sanction of the God: 685
 High heav'n with trembling the dread signal took,
 And all Olympus to the centre shook.

Confide in me; but haste, depart the skies,
 Lest Juno mark thee with mistrustful eyes.
 Here take my sanction to the pow'rs above;
 The nod, that binds the firm decrees of Jove:
 The faithful seal of this almighty state,
 The stamp of fix'd irrevocable fate.
 Whoe'er shall this auspicious signal gain,
 Force may oppose him, but oppose in vain.
 His brows then bending with majestic grace,
 The curls ambrosial round his awful face
 Shook, and exprest the signal of the God,
 While all Olympus trembling felt the nod.

Ver. 683. *He spoke, and awful bends.*] This description of the majesty of Jupiter has something exceedingly grand and venerable. Macrobius reports, that Phidias having made his Olympian Jupiter, which past for one of the greatest miracles of art, was asked from what pattern he framed so divine a figure, and answered, it was from that archetype which he found in these lines of Homer. The same author has also taken notice of Virgil's imitating it, l. 1.

“Dixerat, idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris,
 “Per pice torrentes atrâque voragine ripas;
 “Annuît, & totum nutu tremefecit Olympum.”

Here indeed he has preserved the *nod* with its stupendous effect, the making the heavens tremble. But he has neglected the description of the eye-brows and the hair, those chief pieces of imagery from whence the artist took the idea of a countenance proper for the king of Gods and men.

Thus far Macrobius, whom Scaliger answers in this manner;
*Aut ludunt Phidiam, aut nos ludit Phidias. Etiam sine Homero puto
 illum scisse, Jovem non carere superciliis & cæsarie.* P.

Ver. 684.] Ogilby has,

And we'll confirm our promise with a *nod*:
 No ampler is our grant to any god.

Swift to the seas profound the Goddess flies,
 Jove to his starry mansion in the skies.
 The shining synod of th' immortals wait 690
 The coming God, and from their thrones of state
 Arising silent, wrapt in holy fear,
 Before the Majesty of Heav'n appear.
 Trembling they stand, while Jove assumes the
 throne,
 All, but the God's imperious queen alone : 695

Ver. 690.] The sense of the original is but obscurely seen in this translation. Dryden is more faithful :

He moves into his hall : the pow'rs resort,
 Each from his house, to fill the sov'reign's court :
 Nor waiting summons, nor expecting, stood,
 But met with reverence, and receiv'd the god.

Ver. 694. *Jove assumes the throne.*] As Homer makes the first council of his men to be one continued scene of anger, whereby the Grecian chiefs became divided, so he makes the first meeting of the Gods to be spent in the same passion; whereby Jupiter is more fixed to assist the Trojans, and Juno more incensed against them. Thus the design of the poem goes on : the anger which began the book overspreads all existent beings by the latter end of it : heaven and earth become engaged in the subject, by which it rises to a great importance in the reader's eyes, and is hastened forward into the briskest scenes of action that can be framed upon that violent passion. P.

Nor is our poet sufficiently attentive to his exemplar in this passage. Travers is much more accurate :

Now fate the God enthron'd amid the skies,
 Nor fate unmark'd by Juno's conscious eyes :
 For in close consult she had lately seen
 Where Thetis fate, the silver-footed queen,
 Daughter of ocean crown'd with hoary age :
 And her tongue founded in a voice of rage.

Late had she view'd the silver-footed dame,
And all her passions kindled into flame.
Say, artful manager of heav'n (she cries)
Who now partakes the secrets of the skies?

Ver. 698. *Say, artful manager.*] The Gods and Goddesſes being deſcribed with all the deſires and pleaſures, the paſſions and humours of mankind, the commentators have taken a licence from thence to draw not only moral obſervations, but alſo *ſatirical reflections* out of this part of the poet. Theſe I am ſorry to ſee fall ſo hard upon womankind, and all by Juno's means. Sometimes ſhe procures them a leſſon for their curioſity and unquietneſs, and at other times for their loud and vexatious tempers. Juno deſerves them on the one hand, Jupiter thunders them out on the other, and the learned gentlemen are very particular in enlarging with remarks on both ſides. In her firſt ſpeech they make the poet deſcribe the inquiſitive temper of womankind in general, and their reſtleſſneſs if they are not admitted into every ſecret. In his answer to this, they trace thoſe methods of grave remonſtrance by which it is proper for huſbands to calm them. In her reply, they find it is the nature of women to be more obſtinate for being yielded to: and in his ſecond return to her, they ſee the laſt method to be uſed with them upon failure of the firſt, which is the exerciſe of ſovereign authority.

Mr. Dryden has tranſlated all this with the utmoſt ſeverity upon the ladies, and ſpirited the whole with ſatirical additions of his own. But Madam Dacier (who has elſewhere animadverted upon the good biſhop of Theſſalonica, for his ſage admonitions againſt the fair ſex) has not taken the leaſt notice of this general defection from complaiſance in all the commentators. She ſeems willing to give the whole paſſage a more important turn, and incline us to think that Homer deſigned to repreſent the folly and danger of prying into the ſecrets of providence. 'Tis thrown into that air in this tranſlation, not only as it is more noble and inſtructive in general, but as it is more reſpectful to the ladies in particular; nor ſhould we (any more than Madam Dacier) have mentioned what thoſe old fellows have ſaid, but to deſire *their* protection againſt ſome modern criticks, their diſciples, who may arraign this proceeding.

Thy Juno knows not the decrees of fate, 700
In vain the partner of imperial state.

What fav'rite Goddesses then those cares divides,
Which Jove in prudence from his consort hides?

To this the Thund'rer: Seek not thou to find
The sacred counsels of almighty mind: 705
Involved in darkness lies the great decree,
Nor can the depths of fate be pierc'd by thee.
What fits thy knowledge, thou the first shalt know:
The first of Gods above, and men below;

Tickell in this place is more close and commendable than
our poet:

False Jove! what goddesses whisp'ring did I see?

O! fond of counsels still conceal'd from me!

To me, neglected, thou wilt ne'er impart

One single thought of thy close-cover'd heart.

And so is Travers:

Say, pow'r of craft! who late conferr'd with thee?

Who shar'd the counsels thou conceal'd from me?

Still does the force of thy ungracious love

Hide from my soul the dark designs of Jove.

Ver. 704.] Tickell has rendered this reply more closely, and
with elegance not much inferior. Travers also has succeeded
very well:

To whom the fire of Gods and men reply'd:

Near as thou art by nuptial bands ally'd,

O never hope my secret thoughts to gain!

For these thy curious wish explores in vain.

Thou first of Gods and men shalt hear from me

The counsels proper to be known by thee:

But wave the rest; nor urge me to reveal

What my deep wisdom shall from all conceal.

But thou, nor they, shall search the thoughts
 that roll 710
 Deep in the close recesses of my soul:
 Full on the fire the Goddess of the skies
 Roll'd the large orbs of her majestic eyes,
 And thus return'd. Austere Saturnius, say,
 From whence this wrath, or who controuls thy
 sway? 715
 Thy boundless will, for me, remains in force,
 And all thy counsels take the destin'd course.
 But 'tis for Greece I fear: for late was seen
 In close consult the silver-footed queen.
 Jove to his Thetis nothing could deny, 720
 Nor was the signal vain that shook the sky.

Ver. 713. *Roll'd the large orbs.*] The Greek is *Βοῶπις ὡράνια Ἦρη*, which is commonly translated the *venerable ox-eyed Juno*. Madam Dacier very well observes that *βῶ* is only an augmentative particle, and signifies no more than *valdè*. It may be added, that the imagination that oxen have larger eyes than ordinary is ill-grounded, and has no foundation in truth; their eyes are no larger in proportion than those of men, or of most other animals. But be it as it will, the design of the poet, which is only to express the largeness of her eyes, is answered in the paraphrase. P.

Ver. 715.] Travers is not inferiour:

What have I ask'd, or now presume to know?

Free and sedate thy heavenly counsels flow.

Ver. 721.] Homer says merely: "To whom I suspect you to
 "have certainly nodded assent:" so that our poet seems to have
 taken a hint of this specifical symptom of Jove's acquiescence in
 the request of Thetis, from Dacier: "*Je suis persuadée que ce*
"signe, dont nous nous sommes aperçus, ne sera pas vain." The
 resemblance is sufficiently distinct.

What fatal favour has the Goddess won,
To grace her fierce, inexorable son?
Perhaps in Grecian blood to drench the plain,
And glut his vengeance with my people slain. 725

Then thus the God: Oh restless fate of pride,
That strives to learn what heav'n resolves to hide!
Vain is the search, presumptuous and abhor'd,
Anxious to thee, and odious to thy Lord.

Let this suffice; th' immutable decree 730

No force can shake: what *is*, that *ought* to be.

Goddess submit, nor dare our will withstand,

But dread the pow'r of this avenging hand;

Th' united strength of all the Gods above

In vain resists th' omnipotence of Jove. 735

The Thund'rer spoke, nor durst the queen reply;
A rev'rend horror silenc'd all the sky.

Ver. 726.] Ogilby is undignified, but more exact:
Distrustful woman! angry Jove replied;
I from thy jealous head can nothing hide.

The latter clause in this verse of Pope is like Dacier: "Déesse
"curieuse et inquiète."

Ver. 729.] Dacier: "Vous me deviendrez plus odieuse."

Ver. 730.] Our author has misconceived, or inadequately represented, his original; which Hobbes and Chapman had properly exhibited, but Mr. Cowper since with simplicity and neatness also:

And be it as thou sayest—I am well pleased
That so it should be. —

Ver. 735.] Dryden has,
To lift a hand against *omnipotence*.

Ver. 736.] The translators have generally agreed in suppressing a thought of the original, thus represented by Ogilby:

The feast disturb'd, with sorrow Vulcan saw
 His mother menac'd, and the Gods in awe;
 Peace at his heart, and pleasure his design, 740
 Thus interpos'd the architect divine.
 The wretched quarrels of the mortal state
 Are far unworthy, Gods! of your debate:
 Let men their days in senseless strife employ,
 We, in eternal peace, and constant joy. 745

This said, she silent sat, fearing his frown;
 And strove to keep her rising stomach down.

This is, doubtless, trivial and undignified; but gives the genuine force of the Greek in our vulgar idiom.

Ver. 741. *Thus interpos'd the architect divine.*] This quarrel of the Gods being come to its height, the poet makes Vulcan interpose, who freely puts them in mind of pleasure, inoffensively advises Juno, illustrates his advice by an example of his own misfortune, turning the jest on himself to enliven the banquet; and concludes the part he is to support with serving Nectar about. Homer had here his Minerva or *wisdom* to interpose again, and every other quality of the mind resided in Heaven under the appearance of some deity: so that his introducing Vulcan, proceeded not from a want of choice, but an insight into nature. He knew that a friend to mirth often diverts or stops quarrels, especially when he contrives to submit himself to the laugh, and prevails on the angry to part in good humour, or in a disposition to friendship; when grave representations are sometimes reproaches, sometimes lengthen the debate by occasioning defences, and sometimes introduce new parties into the consequences of it. P.

Ver. 745.] An insipid and inelegant line. I prefer Tickell, who keeps his original more in view:

If things on earth disturb the blest abodes,
 And mar th' ambrosial banquet of the Gods.

Thou Goddess-mother, with our fire comply,
 Nor break the sacred union of the sky:
 Lest, rous'd to rage, he shake the blest abodes,
 Launch the red lightning, and dethrone the Gods.
 If you submit, the thund'rer stands pleas'd; 750
 The gracious pow'r is willing to be pleas'd.

Thus Vulcan spoke; and rising with a bound,
 The double bowl with sparkling Nectar crown'd,
 Which held to Juno in a chearful way,
 Goddess (he cried) be patient and obey. 755

Dear as you are, if Jove his arm extend,
 I can but grieve, unable to defend,
 What God so daring in your aid to move,
 Or lift his hand against the force of Jove?
 Once in your cause I felt his matchless might, 760
 Hurl'd headlong downward from th' etherial
 height;

Ver. 750.] This is not Homer; nor is the passage well managed by any of his translators. Dryden is without elegance, but comes nearest to the sense of his author:

But one submissive word, would you let fall,
 Will make him in good humour with us all.

Ver. 754.] This wretched line deforms the whole passage, which is otherwise excellently translated.

Ver. 760. *Once in your cause I felt his matchless might.*] “ They
 “ who search another vein of allegory for hidden knowledge in
 “ natural philosophy, have considered Jupiter and Juno as *heaven*
 “ and the *air*, whose alliance is interrupted when the air is troubled
 “ above, but restored again when it is cleared by heat, or Vulcan
 “ the God of heat. Him they call a divine artificer, from the
 “ activity or general use of fire in working. They suppose him

Toft all the day in rapid circles round;
Nor till the fun descended, touch'd the ground:

“ to be born in heaven, where philosophers fay that element has
“ its proper place; and is thence derived to the earth, which is
“ fignified by the fall of Vulcan; that he fell in Lemnos, because
“ that Island abounds with fubterranean fires; and that he contract-
“ ed a lameness or imperfection by the fall; the fire not being fo
“ pure and active below, but mixed and terrestrial.” *Eustathius*. P.

Ver. 761.] From Milton, Par. Loft, i. 44.

————— Him the almighty power

Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ethereal fky:

of whose imitation elfewhere, Travers has very happily availed
himself:

Swung by the heel, with force impetuous driv'n,

Sheer o'er the chryftal battlements of heav'n;

Prone I descended with the morning light,

And breathlefs falling at the dawn of night,

Stunn'd in the whirl, the Sinthians careful hand

Rais'd and reftor'd me on the Lemnian ftand:

which is more exact to the original than our poet's verſion. For
thus our great epic bard at verſe 740, of the ſame book, in ſtrains
of beautiful ſimplicity:

————— in Auſonian land

Men call'd him Mulciber; and how he fell

From heav'n, they fabled, thrown by angry Jove

Sheer o'er the cryftal battlements: from morn

To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,

A ſummer's day: and with the ſetting ſun

Dropt from the zenith like a falling ſtar,

On Lemnos th' Ægean iſle.

Ver. 762.] Save a grammatical impropriety, Dryden has ren-
dered this part extremely well, and accurately; with Milton in
view, as follows:

————— me by the heel he drew,

And o'er heav'n's battlements with fury threw;

Breathless I fell, in giddy motion lost; 764
The Sinthians rais'd me on the Lemnian coast.

He said, and to her hands the goblet heav'd,
Which, with a smile, the white-arm'd queen
receiv'd.

All day I fell: my flight at morn begun,
And ended not but with the setting sun.

Tickell also is excellent, who treads in the steps of Milton:

Caught by the heel he swung me round on high,
And headlong hurl'd me from th' ethereal sky.
From morn to noon I fell, from noon to night.

So that our poet seems to have derived his ingenious fancy of the rapid circles from Dacier: "*Je roulai tout le jour dans les airs.*"

Ver. 764.] These rhymes are not admissible.

Ver. 766.] The rest of the paragraph in our poet's version, to the conclusion of the book, is most admirable, and highly dignified; but this is a shockingly clumsy verse. Tickell is much superiour:

She smil'd; and, smiling, her white arm display'd
To reach the bowl her awkward son convey'd.

Mr. Travers' translation will not be unacceptable to the reader:

The harp of Phœbus, and th' Aonian choir,
That sung alternate to his warbling lyre,
Grac'd the rich feast with magic's sprightly sound,
Till now the sun had reach'd his western bound.
Soon as his beams retir'd beneath the deep,
Rose every guest, and sought the dome of sleep;
Where artful Vulcan in their high abodes
Had fram'd the proud pavilions of the Gods:
Their fire, ascending to his bright alcove,
Lay all compos'd; and at the side of Jove,
Who darts the light'ning by his heavenly power,
Lodg'd the fair Juno in her golden bow'r.

Ver. 767. *Which, with a smile, the white arm'd queen receiv'd.*] The epithet λευκώλενος, or white-arm'd, is used by Homer several times before, in this book. This was the first passage where it could

Then to the rest he fill'd; and in his turn,
 Each to his lips apply'd the nectar'd urn.
 Vulcan with aukward grace his office plies, 770
 And unextinguish'd laughter shakes the skies.

Thus the blest Gods the genial day prolong,
 In feasts ambrosial, and celestial song.
 Apollo tun'd the lyre; the Muses round
 With voice alternate aid the silver sound. 775
 Meantime the radiant sun, to mortal fight
 Descending swift, roll'd down the rapid light.
 Then to their starry domes the Gods depart,
 The shining monuments of Vulcan's art:

be introduced with any ease or grace; because the action she is here described in, of extending her arm to the cup, gives it an occasion of displaying its beauties, and in a manner demands the epithet. P.

Ver. 771. *Laughter shakes the skies.*] Vulcan designed to move laughter by taking upon him the office of Hebe and Ganymede, with his aukward limping carriage. But though he prevailed, and Homer tells you the Gods did laugh, yet he takes care not to mention a word of his lameness. It would have been cruel in him, and wit out of season, to have enlarged with derision upon an imperfection which is out of one's power to remedy. According to this good natured opinion of Eustathius, Mr. Dryden has treated Vulcan a little barbarously. He makes his character perfectly comical, he is the jest of the board, and the Gods are very merry upon the imperfections of his figure. Chapman led him into this error in general, as well as into some indecencies of expression in particular, which will be seen upon comparing them.

For what concerns the laughter attributed here to the Gods, see the notes on lib. 5. ver. 517. P.

Ver. 778. *Then to their starry domes.*] The Astrologers assign twelve houses to the planets, wherein they are said to have domi-

Jove on his couch reclin'd his awful head, 780
And Juno flumber'd on the golden bed.

nion. Now because Homer tells us Vulcan built a mansion for every God, the ancients write that he first gave occasion for this doctrine. P.

Ver. 780. *Jove in his couch reclin'd his awful head.*] Eustathius makes a distinction between καθέδωκεν and ὑπνῆκεν; the words which are used at the end of this book, and the beginning of the next, with regard to Jupiter's sleeping. He says καθέδωκεν only means lying down in a disposition to sleep; which salves the contradiction that else would follow in the next book, where it is said Jupiter did not sleep, I only mention this to vindicate the translation which differs from Mr. Dryden's.

It has been remarked by the scholiasts, that this is the only book of the twenty-four without any simile, a figure in which Homer abounds every where else. The like remark is made by Madam Dacier upon the first of the Odysey; and because the poet has observed the same conduct in both works, it is concluded he thought a simplicity of style, without the great figures, was proper during the first information of the reader. This observation may be true, and admits of refined reasonings; but for my part I cannot think the book had been the worse, though he had thrown in as many similes as Virgil has in the first Æneid. P.

Thus Ogilby, whom our author observed:

—— surpriz'd by sleep, laid down his head,
Fair Juno by him on a golden bed.

And thus the Argives, with their
 And thus the Argives, with their

Now, however, Homer tells us, Vulcan built a mansion for
 THE TRIAL OF THE ARMED AND CATALAN
 OF THE FORCES.

THE ARGIVES, with their
 THE ARGIVES, with their

THE

SECOND BOOK

OF THE

ILLIAD.

THE ARGUMENT.

THE TRIAL OF THE ARMY AND CATALOGUE OF THE FORCES.

JUPITER, in pursuance of the request of Thetis, sends a deceitful vision to Agamemnon, persuading him to lead the army to battle; in order to make the Greeks sensible of their want of Achilles. The General, who is deluded with the hopes of taking Troy without his assistance, but fears the army was discouraged by his absence and the late plague, as well as by the length of time, contrives to make trial of their disposition by a stratagem. He first communicates his design to the Princes in council, that he would propose a return to the soldiers, and that they should put a stop to them if the proposal was embraced. Then he assembles the whole host, and upon moving for a return to Greece, they unanimously agree to it, and run to prepare the ships. They are detained by the management of Ulysses, who chastises the insolence of Thersites. The Assembly is recalled, several speeches made on the occasion, and at length the advice of Nestor followed, which was to make a general muster of the troops, and to divide them into their several nations, before they proceeded to battle. This gives occasion to the Poet to enumerate all the forces of the Greeks and Trojans, and in a large catalogue.

The time employed in this book consists not entirely of one day. The scene lies in the Grecian camp and upon the sea-shore; toward the end it removes to Troy. P.

THE
SECOND BOOK

OF THE
ILIAD.

NOW pleasing sleep had seal'd each mortal
eye,
Stretch'd in the tents the Grecian leaders lie,
Th'immortals slumber'd on their thrones above;
All, but the ever-wakeful eyes of Jove.

Ver. 1. *Now pleasing sleep, &c.*] Aristotle tells us in the twenty sixth chapter of his art of poetry, that this place had been objected to by some criticks in those times. They thought it gave a very ill idea of the military discipline of the Greeks, to represent a whole army unguarded, and all the leaders asleep: they also pretended it was ridiculous to describe all the Gods sleeping besides Jupiter. To both these Aristotle answers, that nothing is more usual or allowable than that figure which puts *all* for the *greater part*. One may add with respect to the latter criticism, that nothing could give a better image of the superiority of Jupiter to the other Gods (or of the supreme Being to all second causes) than the vigilancy here ascribed to him, over all things divine and human. P.

However *ridiculous* it might be in Homer to represent all the Gods *asleep* but Jupiter, there was nothing *inconsistent* in it: and the objection might as well be made against a thousand other pas-

To honour Thetis' son he bends his care,
 And plunge the Greeks in all the woes of war:
 Then bids an empty phantom rise to fight,
 And thus commands the vision of the night.

Fly hence, deluding dream! and light as air,
 To Agamemnon's ample tent repair.

sages, in which the imperfections of *men* are assigned to the *Gods*. Upon which argument Cicero has made a very beautiful reflection, Tusc. disp. i. 26. Fingebat hæc Homerus, et humana ad deos transferebat: divina mallet ad nos. "These were the fictions of Homer, who was always transferring the weaknesses of humanity to the Gods. I should have been better pleased, if he had chosen to exalt his human characters by the perfections of the divinity."

[Ver. 2.] The original says nothing about the Greeks in particular, though Hobbes has fallen into the same mistake:

The Gods, and princes of the Argive host,
 Slept all night long.—

Our translator might have written with propriety:

Stretch'd in their tents the warrior horsemen lie.

[Ver. 7.] He omits one circumstance, which Travers has briefly and elegantly exhibited:

Resolv'd at last, a flatt'ring dream he chose:

Swift at his call the dream officious rose.

[Ver. 9. *Fly hence, deluding dream.*] It appears from Aristotle, Poet. cap. 26. that Homer was accused of impiety, for making Jupiter the author of a lye in this passage. It seems there were anciently these words in his speech to the dream; Δίδωμεν δὲ οἱ εὖχος ἀρίσθαι, *Let us give him great glory.* (Instead of which we have in the present copies, Τρώεσσι δὲ κῆδε ἰφίπταται.) But Hippias found a way to bring off Homer, only by placing the accent on the last syllable but one, Διδόμεν, for Διδόμεναι, the infinitive for the imperative; which amounts to no more than he bade the dream to promise him great glory. But Macrobius de Somnio Scip. lib. i. cap. 7. takes off this imputation entirely, and will not allow there was any lye in the case. "Agamemnon (says he) was ordered by the dream to lead out all the forces of the Greeks, (Παραυδῆναι is the

Bid him in arms draw forth th' embattel'd train,
 Lead all his Grecians to the dusty plain.
 Declare, ev'n now 'tis given him to destroy
 The lofty tow'rs of wide-extended Troy.
 For now no more the Gods with fate contend, 15
 At Juno's suit the heav'nly factions end.
 Destruction hangs o'er yon' devoted wall,
 And nodding Ilion waits th' impending fall.

“word) and promised the victory on that condition: now Achilles
 “and his forces not being summoned to the assembly with the rest,
 “that neglect absolved Jupiter from his promise.” This remark
 Madam Dacier has inserted without mentioning its author. Mr.
 Dacier takes notice of a passage in the scripture exactly parallel to
 this, where God is represented making use of the malignity of his
 creatures to accomplish his judgments. It is in 2 Chron. ch. xviii.
*ver. 19, 20, 21. And the Lord said, Who will persuade Ahab, that
 he may go up and fall at Ramoth Gilead? And there came forth a
 spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And
 the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said I will go forth,
 and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And
 he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also: Go forth and
 do so. Vide Dacier upon Aristotle, cap. 26. P.*

Homer says simply, go, pernicious dream, but Dacier: *songe
 séducteur, allez promptement*: which might suggest our poet's ex-
 pression, *light as air*.

Ver. 10.] Travers more exactly:

Reach the high tent where Agamemnon lies,
 And speak th' imperial mandate of the skies.

Ver. 15.] His original only says, without any mention of *fate*:

No more th' Olympian Gods consult apart.

Ogilby's verse is excellent:

No more in parties factious Gods divide.

Ver. 17.] Dryden, *Æn. ii. 383.*

VOL. I.

H

Swift as the word the vain Illusion fled,
 Descends, and hovers o'er Atrides' head; 20
 Cloath'd in the figure of the Pylian sage,
 Renown'd for wisdom, and rever'd for age;
 Around his temples spreads his golden wing,
 And thus the flatt'ring dream deceives the king.

Canst thou, with all a monarch's cares oppress,
 Oh Atreus' son! canst thou indulge thy rest? 26
 Ill fits a chief who mighty nations guides,
 Directs in council, and in war presides,
 To whom its safety a whole people owes,
 To waste long nights in indolent repose. 30
 Monarch awake! 'tis Jove's command I bear,
 Thou, and thy glory, claim his heav'nly care.

The foes already have possess'd the *wall*,
 Troy *nods* from high, and totters to her *fall*.

Ver. 18.] The word *impending* is faulty in this connexion.

Ver. 19.] In this narration our poet has omitted the circumstances of the dream's "course to the ships;" and "Agamemnon's peculiar respect for Nestor." The following speech is admirably managed.

Ver. 20. *Descends, and hovers o'er Atrides' head.*] The whole action of the *dream* is beautifully natural, and agreeable to philosophy. It perches on his head, to intimate that part to be the seat of the soul: it is circumfused about him, to express that total possession of the senses which fancy has during our sleep. It takes the figure of the person who was dearest to Agamemnon; as whatever we think of most, when awake, is the common object of our dreams. And just at the instant of its vanishing, it leaves such an impression that the voice seems still to sound in his ear. No description can be more exact or lively. *Eustathius, Dacier.* P.

In just array draw forth th' embattel'd train,
 Lead all thy Grecians to the dusty plain;
 Ev'n now, O king! 'tis given thee to destroy 35
 The lofty tow'rs of wide-extended Troy.
 For now no more the Gods with fate contend,
 At Juno's suit the heav'nly factions end.
 Destruction hangs o'er yon' devoted wall,
 And nodding Ilion waits th' impending fall. 40

Ver. 33. *Draw forth th' embattel'd train, &c.*] The dream here repeats the message of Jupiter in the same terms that he received it. It is no less than the father of Gods and men who gives the order, and to alter a word were presumption. Homer constantly makes his envoys observe this practice as a mark of decency and respect. Madam Dacier and others have applauded this in general, and asked by what authority an ambassador could alter the terms of his commission, since he is not greater or wiser than the person who gave the charge? But this is not always the case in our author, who not only makes use of this conduct with respect to the orders of a higher power, but in regard to equals also; as when one Goddess desires another to represent such an affair, and she immediately takes the words from her mouth and repeats them, of which we have an instance in this book. Some objection too may be raised in this manner, when commissions are given in the utmost haste (in a battle or the like) upon sudden emergencies, where it seems not very natural to suppose a man has time to get so many words by heart as he is made to repeat exactly. In the present instance, the repetition is certainly graceful, though Zenodotus thought it not so the third time, when Agamemnon tells his dream to the council. I do not pretend to decide upon the point: for though the reverence of the repetition seemed less needful in that place, than when it was delivered immediately from Jupiter; yet (as Eustathius observes) it was necessary for the assembly to know the circumstances of this dream, that the truth of the relation might be unsuspected. P.

Awake, but waking this advice approve,
And trust the vision that descends from Jove.

The phantom said; then vanish'd from his sight,
Resolves to air, and mixes with the night. 44
A thousand schemes the monarch's mind employ;
Elate in thought, he sacks untaken Troy:
Vain as he was, and to the future blind;
Nor saw what Jove and secret Fate design'd,
What mighty toils to either host remain,
What scenes of grief, and numbers of the slain! 50
Eager he rises, and in fancy hears
The voice celestial murm'ring in his ears.

Ver. 45.] Travers also has succeeded in this place:

'The schemes of conquest in his fancy rove,
Vain and unconscious of the mind of Jove.

But Homer says simply: "Revolving in his mind things that
"were not likely to be accomplished;" but Dacier has: "Rou-
"lant déjà dans sa tête *milles beaux projets*."

Ver. 50.] Thus in the first edition:

What scenes of grief and *mountains* of the slain!

He probably chose to vary from an expression, used once at least in
the former book, ver. 12.

Ver. 52.] From this verse of the original, and from the
Odyssey, xiii. 2. *Apollonius Rhodius* most probably learnt to con-
struct that admired passage in ver. 512. of his *first* book: which
more immediately presented itself to Milton in Par. Lost, viii. 1.

The angel ended, and in Adam's ear
So charming left his voice, that he awhile
Thought him still speaking, still stood fix'd to hear.

Homer says only, "The divine voice was diffused round him:"
but our poet consulted Dacier, who is very elegant: "*Il lui sembla*
"que *la voix divine*, repandue tout auteur de lui, retentissoit
"encore à ses oreilles."

First on his limbs a slender vest he drew,
 Around him next the regal mantle threw,
 Th'embroider'd sandals on his feet were ty'd; 55
 The starry faulchion glitter'd at his side;
 And last his arm the massy sceptre loads,
 Unstain'd, immortal, and the gift of Gods.

Now rose morn ascends the court of Jove,
 Lifts up her light, and opens day above. 60
 The king dispatch'd his heralds with commands
 To range the camp and summon all the bands:
 The gath'ring hosts the monarch's word obey;
 While to the fleet Atrides bends his way.
 In his black ship the Pylian prince he found; 65
 There calls a senate of the peers around:

And many readers will be agreeably reminded of a most enchanting passage in the Messiah, of our poet:

And starts, amidst the thirsty wilds to hear
 New falls of water murm'ring in his ear.

Ver. 55.] Our poet had his eye on Ogilby:

Next to his ankles, purple buskins ty'd;
 His golden *faulchion* hanging by his side:

for Homer says only,

_____ and round
 His shoulders cast the silver-studded sword.

Ver. 56.] So Milton, Par. Lost, xi. 245.

His *starry helm* unbuckled shew'd him prime
 In manhood where youth ended.

Ver. 58.] The epithet *unstain'd* is a blemish, but the only blemish in this magnificent description. *Unchang'd* would have been more dignified, and correspondent to the original. He seems to have followed Chapman, very injudiciously:

His father's sceptre, *never stain'd*.

Th' assembly plac'd, the king of men exprest
The counfels lab'ring in his artful breast.

Friends and confed'rates! with attentive ear
Receive my words, and credit what you hear. 70
Late as I slumber'd in the shades of night,
A dream divine appear'd before my sight;
Whose visionary form like Nestor came,
The same in habit, and in mien the same.
The heav'nly phantom hover'd o'er my head, 75
And, Dost thou sleep, oh Atreus' son? (he said)
Ill fits a chief who mighty nations guides,
Directs in council, and in war presides,
To whom its safety a whole people owes;
To waste long nights in indolent repose. 80
Monarch awake! 'tis Jove's command I bear,
Thou and thy glory claim his heav'nly care.
In just array draw forth th' embattel'd train,
And lead the Grecians to the dusty plain;
Ev'n now, O king! 'tis given thee to destroy 85
The lofty tow'rs of wide-extended Troy.
For now no more the Gods with fate contend,
At Juno's suit the heav'nly factions end.
Destruction hangs o'er yon devoted wall,
And nodding Ilion waits th' impending fall. 90
This hear observant, and the Gods obey!
The vision spoke, and past in air away.

Now, valiant chiefs, since heav'n itself alarms;
Unite, and rouse the sons of Greece to arms.

Ver. 92.] He might easily have included the whole sense of his original:

The vision spake, and fled *with sleep* away.

Ver. 93. *Now, valiant chiefs, &c.*] The best commentary extant upon the first part of this book is in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who has given us an admirable explication of this whole conduct of Agamemnon in his second treatise Περὶ ἐσχηματισμένων. He says, "This prince had nothing so much at heart as to draw the Greeks to a battle, yet knew not how to proceed without Achilles, who had just retired from the army; and was apprehensive that the Greeks who were displeased at the departure of Achilles, might refuse obedience to his orders, should he absolutely command it. In this circumstance he proposes to the princes in council to make a trial of arming the Grecians, and offers an expedient himself; which was, that he should sound their dispositions by exhorting them to set sail for Greece, but that then the other princes should be ready to dissuade and detain them. If any object to this stratagem, that Agamemnon's whole scheme would be ruined if the army should take him at his word (which was very probable) it is to be answered, that his design lay deeper than they imagine, nor did he depend upon his speech only for detaining them. He had some cause to fear the Greeks had a pique against him which they had concealed, and whatever it was, he judged it absolutely necessary to know it before he proceeded to a battle. He therefore furnishes them with an occasion to manifest it, and at the same time provides against any ill effects it might have, by his secret orders to the princes. It succeeds accordingly, and when the troops are running to embark, they are stopped by Ulysses and Nestor."—One may farther observe that this whole stratagem is concerted in Nestor's ship, as one whose wisdom and secrecy was most confided in. The story of the vision's appearing in his shape, could not but engage him in some degree: it looked as if Jupiter himself added weight to his counsels by making use of that venerable appearance, and knew this to be the most powerful method of recommending them

But first, with caution, try what yet they dare, 95
Worn with nine years of unsuccessful war?
To move the troops to measure back the main,
Be mine; and yours the province to detain.

He spoke, and sat; when Nestor rising said,
(Nestor, whom Pylos' sandy realms obey'd) 100
Princes of Greece, your faithful ears incline,
Nor doubt the vision of the pow'rs divine;
Sent by great Jove to him who rules the host,
Forbid it heav'n! this warning should be lost!
Then let us haste, obey the God's alarms, 105
And join to rouse the sons of Greece to arms.

Thus spoke the sage: the kings without delay
Dissolve the council, and their chief obey:
The sceptred rulers lead; the following host 109
Pour'd forth by thousands, darkens all the coast.

to Agamemnon. It was therefore but natural for Nestor to second the motion of the king, and by the help of his authority it prevailed on the other princes. P.

Ver. 96.] This line is a supplement from the translator.

Ver. 97.] Thus Denham, *Æn.* ii.

————— *to measure back the main*
They all consent.

Ver. 101.] This speech is executed with great skill, but not in sufficient conformity to his author. Thus Travers, with more fidelity:

Then Nestor, who in sandy Pylos reign'd:
Say, friends and heroes! can the dream be feign'd?
No voice, but this, had influence gain'd on me:
'Tis sacred truth, Atrides! speaks in thee.

Ver. 110.] First edition:

Pour'd forth in millions.——

As from some rocky cleft the shepherd sees
Clust'ring in heaps on heaps the driving bees,

Ver. 111. *As from some rocky cleft.*] This is the first simile in Homer, and we may observe in general that he excels all mankind in the number, variety, and beauty of his comparisons. There are scarce any in Virgil which are not translated from him, and therefore when he succeeds best in them, he is to be commended but as an improver. Scaliger seems not to have thought of this, when he compares the similes of these two authors (as indeed they are the places most obvious to comparison). The present passage is an instance of it, to which he opposes the following verses in the first Æneid, ver. 434.

“Qualis apes æstate novâ per florea rura
“Exercet sub sole labor, cùm gentis adultos
“Educunt fœtus, aut cùm liquentia mella
“Stipant, & dulci distendunt nectare cellas;
“Aut onera accipiunt venientûm, aut agmine facto
“Ignavum fucos pecus à præsepibus arcent.
“Fervet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.”

This he very much prefers to Homer's, and in particular extols the harmony and sweetness of the versification above that of our author; against which censure we need only appeal to the ears of the reader.

Ἡὐτὲ ἔθνεα εἶσι μελισσῶν ἀδινάων,
Πάτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς αἰεὶ νέον ἔρχομενάων,
Βοτρυδὸν δὲ πέτονται ἐπ' ἀνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν.
Αἱ μὲν τ' ἔνθα ἄλῃς πεποτήσεται, αἱ δὲ τὲ ἔνθα, Ἔς.

But Scaliger was unlucky in his choice of this particular comparison: there is a very fine one in the sixth Æneid, ver. 707. that better agrees with Homer's: and nothing is more evident than that the design of these two is very different: Homer intended to describe the *multitude* of Greeks pouring out of the ships, Virgil the *diligence* and *labour* of the builders at Carthage. And Macrobius, who observes this difference, Sat. lib. v. c. 11. should also have found, that therefore the similes ought not to be compared together. The

Rolling, and black'ning, swarms succeeding
 swarms,
 With deeper murmurs and more hoarse alarms ;

beauty of Homer's is not inferior to Virgil's, if we consider with what exactness it answers to its end. It consists of three particulars; the vast number of the troops is expressed in the swarms, their tumultuous manner of issuing out of the ships, and the perpetual egression, which seemed without end, are imaged in the bees pouring out of the rock, and lastly, their dispersion over all the shore, in their descending on the flowers in the vales. Spondanus was therefore mistaken when he thought the whole application of this comparison lay in the single word *ἰλαδόν*, *cateruatim*, as Chapman has justly observed. P.

In all these comparisons of a disciple with his master, the point of *precedence* and *example*, so candidly stated by our admirable poet at the beginning of this note, should never be forgotten. Quintilian, with that impartiality, which distinguishes his judgements, puts in the same claim for Demosthenes in competition with the rhetorician's own favourite, Cicero, lib. x. cap. 1. *Cedendum verò in hoc quidem, quod ille et prior fuit, et ex magnâ parte Ciceronem, quantus est, fecit.* "In this indeed we must allow a preference: "Demosthenes set the example, and in a great measure made Cicero what he was."

Ver. 113.] This is amplified and exaggerated to an unnatural height, and almost burlesques the simplicity of the original. With the exception of one or two words, I prefer Travers's version:

As thro' some rocky cleft with murm'ring strains
 Swarm the loud bees unnumber'd o'er the plains;
 Stretch thro' the field their long-succeeding pow'rs,
 And light in clusters on the vernal flow'rs.

And I wonder much, that our poet should neglect a thought so congenial to his taste, and so capable of embellishment in his hands, as that of the *vernal flowers*. A little correction would make Ogilby very graceful:

Who fly in troup, with an expanded wing,
 Riffing the beauties of the gaudy spring:

Dusky they spread, a close embody'd croud, 115
 And o'er the vale descends the living cloud.
 So, from the tents and ships, a length'ning train
 Spreads all the beach, and wide o'er shades the
 plain:

Along the region runs a deaf'ning sound;
 Beneath their footsteps groans the trembling
 ground. 120

Fame flies before, the messenger of Jove,
 And shining soars, and claps her wings above.

as Collins in his delightful *dirge* in *Cymbeline*:

To fair Fidele's grassy tomb

Soft maids and village hinds shall bring

Each opening sweet of earliest bloom,

And rife all the breathing spring.

Ver. 121. *Fame flies before.*] This assembling of the army is full of beauties: the lively description of their overspreading the field, the noble boldness of the figure when *fame* is represented in person shining at their head: the universal tumult succeeded by a solemn silence; and lastly the graceful rising of Agamemnon, all contribute to cast a majesty on this part. In the passage of the *sceptre*, Homer has found an artful and poetical manner of acquainting us with the high descent of Agamemnon, and celebrating the hereditary right of his family; as well as finely hinted the original of his power to be derived from heaven, in saying the *sceptre* was first the gift of Jupiter. It is with reference to this, that in the line where he first mentions it, he calls it "Ἀφ' ἱερῶν αἰεὶ", and accordingly it is translated in that place. P.

Our poet here indulges his invention without restraint; for his original says simply, with no such embellishments,

among them Rumour glow'd,

Exciting to depart, Jove's messenger.

Nine sacred heralds now, proclaiming loud
 The monarch's will, suspend the list'ning croud.
 Soon as the throngs in order rang'd appear, 125
 And fainter murmurs dy'd upon the ear,
 The king of kings his awful figure rais'd;
 High in his hand the golden sceptre blaz'd:
 The golden sceptre, of celestial frame,
 By Vulcan form'd, from Jove to Hermes came: 130
 To Pelops he th' immortal gift resign'd;
 Th' immortal gift great Pelops left behind,
 In Atreus' hand, which not with Atreus ends,
 To rich Thyestes next the prize descends;
 And now the mark of Agamemnon's reign, 135
 Subjects all Argos, and controuls the main.

On this bright sceptre now the king reclin'd,
 And artful thus pronounc'd the speech design'd:

Ver. 123.] Travers is somewhat more faithful to his original:

Then rose nine heralds, at whose awful words
 Stood Greece attentive to her sov'reign lords.
 When now compos'd were all the warrior race,
 Fix'd on their seats, and silence still'd the place.—

Ver. 136.] Rather, as more expressive of his author,
 All Argos *sways*, and *islands* of the main.

Ver. 138. *And artful thus pronounc'd the speech design'd.*] The remarks of Dionysius upon this speech I shall give the reader all together, though they lie scattered in his two discourses *Περὶ ἰσχυρισμῶν*, the second of which is in a great degree but a repetition of the precepts and examples of the first. This happened, I believe, from his having composed them at distinct times and upon different occasions.

Ye sons of Mars! partake your leader's care,
Heroes of Greece, and brothers of the war!

“ It is an exquisite piece of art, when you seem to aim at per-
“ suading one thing, and at the same time inforce the contrary.
“ This kind of rhetorick is of great use in all occasions of danger,
“ and of this Homer has afforded a most powerful example in the
“ oration of Agamemnon. It is a method perfectly wonderful,
“ and even carries in it an appearance of absurdity; for all that we
“ generally esteem the faults of oratory, by this means become the
“ virtues of it. Nothing is looked upon as a greater error in a rhe-
“ torician than to alledge such arguments as either are easily an-
“ swered or may be retorted upon himself; the former is a weak
“ part, the latter a dangerous one; and Agamemnon here designedly
“ deals in both. For it is plain that if a man must not use weak
“ arguments, or such as may make against him, when he intends
“ to persuade the thing he says; then on the other side, when he
“ does not intend it, he must observe the contrary proceeding, and
“ make what are the faults of oratory in general, the excellencies
“ of that oration in particular, or otherwise he will contradict his
“ own intention, and persuade the contrary to what he means.
“ Agamemnon begins with an argument easily answered, by telling
“ them that *Jupiter had promised to crown their arms with victory.*
“ For if Jupiter had promised this, it was a reason for the stay in
“ the camp. *But now (says he) Jove has deceived us, and we must*
“ *return with ignominy.* This is another of the same kind, for it
“ shews what a disgrace it is to return. What follows is of the
“ second sort, and may be turned against him. *Jove will have it*
“ *so: for which they have only Agamemnon's word, but Jove's*
“ *own promise to the contrary. That God has overthrown many*
“ *cities, and will yet overturn many others.* This was a strong rea-
“ son to stay, and put their confidence in him. *It is shameful to*
“ *have it told to all posterity, that so many thousand Greeks, after a*
“ *war of so long continuance, at last returned home baffled and unsuc-*
“ *cessful.* All this might have been said by a profest adversary to
“ the cause he pleads, and indeed is the same thing Ulysses says
“ elsewhere in reproach of their flight. The conclusion evidently
“ shews the intent of the speaker. *Haste then; let us fly; φεύγωμεν,*
“ the word which of all others was most likely to prevail upon
“ them to stay; the most open term of disgrace he could possibly

Of partial Jove with justice I complain, 141
 And heav'nly oracles believ'd in vain.
 A safe return was promis'd to our toils,
 Renown'd, triumphant, and enrich'd with spoils.
 Now shameful flight alone can save the host, 145
 Our blood, our treasure, and our glory lost.
 So Jove decrees, resistless Lord of all!
 At whose command whole empires rise or fall:
 He shakes the feeble props of human trust,
 And towns and armies humbles to the dust. 150

“ have used : it is the same which Juno makes use of to Minerva,
 “ Minerva to Ulysses, and Ulysses again to the troops, to dissuade
 “ their return ; the same which Agamemnon himself had used to
 “ insult Achilles, and which Homer never employs but with the
 “ mark of cowardice and infamy.”

The same author farther observes, “ That this whole oration
 “ has the air of being spoken in a passion. It begins with a stroke
 “ of the greatest rashness and impatience. *Jupiter has been unjust,*
 “ *heaven has deceived us.* This renders all he shall say of the less
 “ authority, at the same time that it conceals his own artifice ; for
 “ his anger seems to account for the incongruities he utters.” I
 could not suppress so fine a remark, though it falls out of the order
 of those which precede it.

Before I leave this article, I must take notice that this speech of
 Agamemnon is again put into his mouth in the ninth Iliad, and
 (according to Dionysius) for the same purpose, to detain the army
 at the siege after a defeat ; though it seems unartful to put the same
 trick twice upon the Greeks by the same person, and in the same
 words too. We may indeed suppose the first feint to have remained
 undiscovered, but at best it is a management in the poet not very
 entertaining to the readers. P.

This is a miserable line indeed ! The speech is well done ; nor
 is Travers much inferiour.

What shame to Greece a fruitless war to wage,
 Oh lasting shame in ev'ry future age!
 Once great in arms, the common scorn we grow,
 Repuls'd and baffled by a feeble foe.
 So small their number, that if wars were ceas'd, 155
 And Greece triumphant held a gen'ral feast,
 All rank'd by tens, whole decads when they dine
 Must want a Trojan slave to pour the wine.

Ver. 155. *So small their number, &c.*] This part has a low air in comparison with the rest of the speech. Scaliger calls it *tabernariam orationem*: but it is well observed by Madam Dacier, that the image Agamemnon here gives of the Trojans, does not only render their numbers contemptible in comparison of the Greeks, but their persons too: for it makes them appear but as a few vile slaves fit only to serve them with wine. To which we may add, that it affords a prospect to his soldiers of their future state and triumph after the conquest of their enemies.

This passage gives me occasion to animadvert upon a computation of the number of the Trojans, which the learned Angelus Politian has offered at in his *preface to Homer*. He thinks they were fifty thousand without the auxiliaries, from the conclusion of the eighth Iliad, where it is said there were a thousand funeral piles of Trojans and fifty men attending each of them. But that the auxiliaries are to be admitted into that number, appears plainly from this place: Agamemnon expressly distinguishes the native Trojans from the aids, and reckons but one to ten Grecians, at which estimate there could not be above ten thousand Trojans. See the notes on the catalogue. P.

This is not exact. Chapman's homely version has given the true sense of Homer:

Yet should our foes and we
 Strike truce, and number both our pow'rs—.

But other forces have our hopes o'erthrown,
 And Troy prevails by armies not her own. 160
 Now nine long years of mighty Jove are run,
 Since first the labours of this war begun:
 Our cordage torn, decay'd our vessels lie,
 And scarce ensure the wretched pow'r to fly.
 Haste then, for ever leave the Trojan wall! 165
 Our weeping wives, our tender children call:

Ver. 159.] He much abbreviates his author here, who runs literally thus:

———— but auxiliar troops,
 With brandish'd spears, are join'd from numerous states
 Who thwart me much, nor suffer all my zeal
 To lay the noble town of Ilium waste.

And it is observable how fond our translator was of that elegant phrase in the next verse. So, to omit other instances, in that lively passage:

———— The pictures for the page atone,
 And Quarles is fav'd by beauties *not his own*.

Virgil was the source, in his *second Georgic*:

Miraturque novas frondes et *non sua poma*:
 The mother-plant admires the leaves unknown
 Of alien trees, and apples *not her own*. Dryden.

So Dryden again, *Æn.* xi. 422.

And cuff the cliffs with pinions *not their own*.

Ver. 163. ——— Decay'd our vessels lie,
 And scarce ensure the wretched pow'r to fly.]

This, and some other passages, are here translated correspondent to the general air and sense of this speech, rather than just to the letter. The telling them in this place how much their shipping was decayed, was a hint of their danger in returning, as Madam Dacier has remarked. P.

Love, duty, safety, summon us away,
 'Tis Nature's voice, and Nature we obey.
 Our shatter'd barks may yet transport us o'er,
 Safe and inglorious, to our native shore. 170

Fly, Grecians, fly, your sails and oars employ,
 And dream no more of heav'n-defended Troy.

His deep design unknown, the hosts approve
 Atrides' speech. The mighty numbers move.
 So roll the billows to th' Icarian shore, 175
 From east and south when winds begin to roar,
 Burst their dark mansions in the clouds, and sweep
 The whitening surface of the ruffled deep.

Ver. 168.] This is substituted for ideas in the original thus represented by Travers:

Unfinish'd here the work of conquest lies;
 Thro' all our toils th' abortive glory dies.

Ver. 173.] Travers excels his master, especially in closeness to his pattern:

As yet to none the monarch's will confest,
 This artful speech inspir'd each kindling breast.
 Forth rush'd the troops promiscuous o'er the plain,
 Like the big waves along th' Icarian main.

Ver. 175. *So roll the billows, &c.*] One may take notice that Homer in these two similitudes has judiciously made choice of the two most wavering and inconstant things in nature, to compare with the multitude; the *waves* and *ears of corn*. The first alludes to the noise and tumult of the people, in the breaking and rolling of the billows; the second to their taking the same course, like corn bending one way; and both to the easiness with which they are moyed by every *breath*. P.

And as on corn when western gusts descend,
 Before the blast the lofty harvests bend: 180
 Thus o'er the field the moving host appears,
 With nodding plumes and groves of waving spears.
 The gath'ring murmur spreads, their trampling
 feet
 Beat the loose sands, and thicken to the fleet.
 With long-refounding cries they urge the train 185
 To fit the ships, and launch into the main.
 They toil, they sweat, thick clouds of dust arise,
 The doubling clamours echo to the skies.
 Ev'n then the Greeks had left the hostile plain,
 And Fate decreed the fall of Troy in vain; 190

Ver. 180.] A little word would have considerably improved this verse:

Before *each* blast the lofty harvests bend.

Thus Travers:

From east and south the storms impetuous rove
 Thro' the dark skies, and burst the clouds of Jove:
 And, as the corn, by western blasts inclin'd,
 Bends o'er the field, and nods before the wind:
 Thus, waving on amidst the rising sands,
 Swift to the fleet advanc'd the numerous bands.

Ver. 187.] This circumstance of the dust, which belonged to their progress towards the ships, is unseasonably connected in our poet's version with their stationary exertions on the shore, and is improperly repeated. Above Dacier has the same expressions: "*De dessous leurs pieds s'élèvent des nuages de poussière.*"

Ver. 189.] Ogilby thus rudely expresses in equal compass the two verses of the original:

And their return in spite of fate they'd made,

But that great Juno thus to Pallas said:

which our poet has expanded into *four*, but *four* of extraordinary beauty.

But Jove's imperial Queen their flight survey'd,
 And sighing thus bespoke the blue-eyed maid.
 Shall then the Grecians fly! Oh dire disgrace!
 And leave unpunish'd this perfidious race?
 Shall Troy, shall Priam, and th' adultrous spouse,
 In peace enjoy the fruits of broken vows? 196
 And bravest chiefs, in Helen's quarrel slain,
 Lie unreveng'd on yon detested plain?
 No: let my Greeks, unmov'd by vain alarms,
 Once more refulgent shine in brazen arms. 200
 Haste, goddess, haste! the flying host detain,
 Nor let one sail be hoisted on the main.

Pallas obeys, and from Olympus' height
 Swift to the ships precipitates her flight;

Ver. 193.] This is not Homer. Ogilby is generally more faithful:

Ah! thou unconquer'd daughter of great Jove,
 Shall thus the Greeks their tedious siege remove,
 Through billows flying to their native coast?

Our poet seems to have followed Chapman in part:

Thus spoke to Pallas: O! foul shame!

Ver. 201.] More exactly thus:

The flying host *with soothing words* detain,
 Nor let *them* drag their navy to the main:

but our poet cast his eye on Chapman below:

—— not a man, *a flying sail* let hoise.

Ver. 203.] Dryden, Æn. iv. 370.

Then, rested thus, he from the towering height
 Plung'd downward, with *precipitated flight*.

Ulysses, first in publick cares, she found, 205
 For prudent counsel like the Gods renown'd:
 Oppress'd with gen'rous grief the hero stood,
 Nor drew his sable vessels to the flood.
 And is it thus, divine Laërtes' son!
 Thus fly the Greeks (the martial maid begun) 210
 Thus to their country bear their own disgrace,
 And fame eternal leave to Priam's race?
 Shall beauteous Helen still remain unfreed,
 Still unreveng'd, a thousand heroes bleed?
 Haste, gen'rous Ithacus! prevent the shame, 215
 Recall your armies, and your chiefs reclaim.
 Your own resistless eloquence employ,
 And to th' Immortals trust the fall of Troy.
 The voice divine confess'd the warlike maid,
 Ulysses heard, nor uninspir'd obey'd: 220
 Then meeting first Atrides, from his hand
 Receiv'd th' imperial sceptre of command.

Ver. 205.] In much the same stile Ogilby:

And near his ship Ulysses standing *found*,
 A prince for wisdom like great Jove *renown'd*.

Ver. 215.] Travers is both accurate and not inelegant:

Haste, valiant chief, exert thy gen'rous speed;
 Fly thro' the host, controul the shameful deed:
 With awful words the lab'ring oars restrain,
 Nor let one sail be hoisted on the main.

All materially different in Pope, is addition of his own.

Ver. 220.] Our poet, by a strange oversight, I presume, and not intentionally, has passed over *two* verses of the original; thus delineated, not contemptibly for the time, by faithful Ogilby:

Thus grac'd, attention and respect to gain,
 He runs, he flies thro' all the Grecian train,
 Each prince of name, or chief in arms approv'd,
 He fir'd with praise, or with persuasion mov'd. 226

Warriours like you, with strength and wisdom
 blest,

By brave examples should confirm the rest.

The monarch's will not yet reveal'd appears;

He tries our courage, but resents our fears. 230

Th' unwary Greeks his fury may provoke;

Not thus the king in secret council spoke.

Jove loves our chief, from Jove his honour springs,

Beware! for dreadful is the wrath of kings.

But if a clam'rous vile Plebeian rose, 235

Him with reproof he check'd, or tam'd with

blows.

Be still, thou slave, and to thy betters yield;

Unknown alike in council and in field!

The virgin's heav'nly voice Ulysses knew,

And, straight obeying, off his mantle threw,

Which up Eurybates his herald took,

Who, still attending, ne'er his charge forsook.

Ver. 227.] This speech is well translated, nor is Travers at
 all inferiour: but he had Pope for his exemplar.

Homer says literally,

You ought not, generous chief! as dastards, fear;

But stay yourself, and try to stop the rest:

so that our poet had his eye on Dacier: "Arrêtez, et donnez

" l' exemple aux autres.

Ver. 233.] He has profited by Chapman on this occasion:

Ye Gods, what dastards would our host command?

Swept to the war, the lumber of a land. 240

Be silent, wretch, and think not here allow'd

That worst of tyrants, an usurping croud.

To one sole monarch Jove commits the sway;

His are the laws, and him let all obey.

With words like these the troops Ulysses rul'd,

The loudest silenc'd, and the fiercest cool'd. 246

Back to th' assembly roll the thronging train,

Desert the ships, and pour upon the plain.

The anger of a king

Is mightie: he is kept of Jove, and from Jove likewise spring
His honors.—

Ver. 243. *To one sole monarch.*] Those persons are under a mistake who would make this sentence a praise of absolute monarchy. Homer speaks it only with regard to a general of an army during the time of his commission. Nor is Agamemnon styled *king of kings* in any other sense, than as the rest of the princes had given him the supreme authority over them in the siege. Aristotle defines a king, *Στρατηγὸς γὰρ ἦν δὲ δικαστὴς ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ τῶν πρὸς θεῶν Κύριος*; *Leader of the war, Judge of controversies, and President of the ceremonies of the Gods.* That he had the principal care of religious rites, appears from many places in Homer; and that his power was no where absolute but in war: for we find Agamemnon insulted in the council, but in the army threatening deserters with death. He was under an obligation to preserve the privileges of his country, pursuant to which kings are called by our author *Δικασπόλεις*, and *Θεμισπόλεις*, the dispensers or managers of justice. And Dionysius of Halicarnassus acquaints us, that the old Grecian kings, whether hereditary or elective, had a council of their chief men, as Homer and the most ancient poets testify; nor was it (he adds) in those times as in ours, when kings have a full liberty to do whatever they please. *Dion. Hal. lib. ii. Hist.* P.

Murm'ring they move, as when old ocean roars,
 And heaves huge furies to the trembling shores:
 The groaning banks are burst with bellowing
 found, 251

The rocks remurmur, and the deeps rebound.
 At length the tumult sinks, the noises cease,
 And a still silence lulls the camp to peace.
 Therfites only clamour'd in the throng, 255
 Loquacious, loud, and turbulent of tongue:

Ver. 249.] He should have written:

Clam'rous they move:—

for the terms of the *simile* are much too lofty and sonorous for the mere *murmurs* of a croud. Ogilby has succeeded in this place:

Back to the council thronging they return
 With clam'rous noise, as when the ocean roars,
 And thundering billows beat re-ecchoing shores.

Ver. 255. *Thersites only.*] The ancients have ascribed to Homer the first sketch of *satyric* or *comic* poetry, of which sort was his poem called *Margites*, as Aristotle reports. Though that piece be lost, this character of *Thersites* may give us a taste of his vein in that kind. But whether ludicrous descriptions ought to have place in the *epic* poem, has been justly questioned: neither Virgil nor any of the most approved ancients have thought fit to admit them into their compositions of that nature; nor any of the best moderns except Milton, whose fondness for Homer might be the reason of it. However this is in its kind a very masterly part, and our author has shewn great judgment in the particulars he has chosen to compose the picture of a pernicious creature of wit; the chief of which are a desire of promoting laughter at any rate, and a contempt of his superiours. And he sums up the whole very strongly, by saying that *Thersites* hated Achilles and Ulysses; in which, as Plutarch has remarked in his treatise of envy and hatred, he makes it the utmost completion of an ill character to bear a malevolence to the best men. What is farther observable is, that *Thersites* is never heard of after this his first appearance: such a scandalous character

Aw'd by no shame, by no respect controul'd,
 In scandal busy, in reproaches bold:
 With witty malice studious to defame;
 Scorn all his joy, and laughter all his aim. 260
 But chief he glory'd with licentious style
 To lash the great, and monarchs to revile.
 His figure such as might his soul proclaim;
 One eye was blinking, and one leg was lame:
 His mountain-shoulders half his breast o'er-
 spread, 265

Thin hairs bestrew'd his long mis-shapen head,
 Spleen to mankind his envious heart possess'd,
 And much he hated all, but most the best,
 Ulysses or Achilles still his theme;
 But royal scandal his delight supreme. 270
 Long had he liv'd the scorn of ev'ry Greek,
 Vext when he spoke, yet still they heard him speak.
 Sharp was his voice; which in the shrillest tone,
 Thus with injurious taunts attack'd the throne.

Amidst the glories of so bright a reign, 275
 What moves the great Atrides to complain?

is to be taken no more notice of, than just to shew that it is despised. Homer has observed the same conduct with regard to the most *deformed* and most *beautiful* person of his poem: for Nireus is thus mentioned once and no more throughout the Iliad. He places a worthless *beauty* and an ill-natured *wit* upon the same foot, and shews that the gifts of the body without those of the mind are not more despicable, than those of the mind itself without virtue. P.

Our poet has executed this translation of the character of Thersites with astonishing vivacity, for so difficult a passage.

'Tis thine whate'er the warriour's breast inflames,
 The golden spoil, and thine the lovely dames.
 With all the wealth our wars and blood bestow,
 Thy tents are crouded, and thy chests o'erflow. 280
 Thus at full ease in heaps of riches roll'd,
 What grieves the monarch? Is it thirst of gold?
 Say, shall we march with our unconquer'd pow'rs,
 (The Greeks and I) to Ilion's hostile tow'rs,

Ver. 275. *Amidst the glories.*] It is remarked by Dionysius Halicarnassus, in his treatise of the *Examination of Writers*, that there could not be a better artifice thought on to recall the army to their obedience, than this of our author. When they were offended at their general in favour of Achilles, nothing could more weaken Achilles's interest than to make such a fellow as Therfites appear of his party, whose impertinence would give them a disgust of thinking or acting like him. There is no surer method to reduce generous spirits, than to make them see they are pursuing the same views with people of no merit, and such whom they cannot forbear despising themselves. Otherwise there is nothing in this speech but what might become the mouth of Nestor himself, if you except a word or two. And had Nestor spoken it, the army had certainly set sail for Greece; but because it was uttered by a ridiculous fellow whom they are ashamed to follow, they are reduced, and satisfied to continue the siege. P.

Ver. 282.] The original is, "And art thou still in want of gold?" but the version of Dacier, "Es-tu encore *affamé* d'or?"

Ver. 284. *The Greeks and I.*] These boasts of himself are the few words which Dionysius objects to in the foregoing passage. I cannot but think the grave commentators here very much mistaken, who imagine Therfites in earnest in these vaunts, and seriously reprove his insolence. They seem to me manifest strokes of irony, which had rendered them so much the more improper in the mouth of Nestor, who was otherwise none of the least boasters himself. And considered as such, they are equal to the rest of the speech, which has an infinite deal of spirit, humour, and satyr. P

And bring the race of royal bastards here, 285

For Troy to ransom at a price too dear?

But safer plunder thy own host supplies;

Say, would'st thou seize some valiant leader's
prize?

Or, if thy heart to gen'rous love be led,

Some captive fair, to bless thy kingly bed? 290

Whate'er our master craves, submit we must,

Plagu'd with his pride, or punish'd for his lust.

Oh women of Achaia! men no more!

Hence let us fly, and let him waste his store

In loves and pleasures on the Phrygian shore. 295

We may be wanted on some busy day,

When Hector comes: so great Achilles may:

That Therfites is in earnest in thus speaking of himself, I think, cannot be doubted. What is more natural than this self-importance of a ridiculous and despicable character?

Ver. 285.] He degrades his author without necessity, in a strain more like the vulgarities of *unhappy* Dryden than Pope. The sense of the original is better conveyed by Travers' translation:

Must Greece and I our warlike swords employ,

And lead in chains the noble youths of Troy?

Must these be seiz'd, and Troy at thy decree

Bring the vast ransom of her sons to thee?

but a *royal* bastard was too great a temptation to be hastily forgone by our translators: see the note on Iliad xxi. verse 140.

Ver. 291.] He disguises his author. Thus Travers with more fidelity:

Is this the care that kings their warriors owe,

To feast their riot by the public woe?

Ver. 293.] Thus Ogilby:

O senseless Grecians, *women, men no more!*

Let us return unto our native shore.

From him he forc'd the prize we jointly gave,
 From him, the fierce, the fearless, and the brave:
 And durst he, as he ought, resent that wrong, 300
 This mighty tyrant were no tyrant long.

Fierce from his seat at this Ulysses springs,
 In gen'rous vengeance of the king of kings.
 With indignation sparkling in his eyes,
 He views the wretch, and sternly thus replies. 305

Peace, factious monster, born to vex the state,
 With wrangling talents form'd for foul debate:
 Curb that impetuous tongue, nor rashly vain
 And singly mad, asperse the sov'reign reign.

Ver. 298.] He might easily have kept up to the spirit of his original:

From him *more* fierce, *more* fearless, and *more* brave.

Upon the whole, I prefer Travers in this passage:

What lawless frenzy could thy heart incline
 Thus to disgrace a braver arm than thine?
 And, would he now the just revenge decree,
 This act of rapine were the last from thee.

Ver. 307.] Travers is not inferiour in elegance, and much exceeds in accuracy:

What Greek of all, who sail'd to Priam's land,
 Has less atchiev'd than thy inglorious hand?
 Shalt thou the due regard to kings deny,
 And urge on Greece thy base desire to fly?
 Know'st thou, if we shall reach our native towns
 With Fortune's smiles, or with her adverse frowns?
 But, if their spoils the gen'rous heroes bring
 For his brave conduct to reward their king;
 If these to him some wealthier prize decree,
 What but reproach has ever flow'd from thee?

Have we not known thee, slave! of all our host, ³¹⁰
 The man who acts the least, upbraids the most?
 Think not the Greeks to shameful flight to bring,
 Nor let those lips profane the name of king.
 For our return we trust the heav'nly pow'rs;
 Be that their care; to fight like men be ours. ³¹⁵
 But grant the host with wealth the gen'ral load,
 Except detraction, what hast thou bestow'd?
 Suppose some hero should his spoils resign,
 Art thou that hero, could those spoils be thine?
 Gods! let me perish on this hateful shore, ³²⁰
 And let these eyes behold my son no more;
 If, on thy next offence, this hand forbear
 To strip those arms thou ill deserv'st to wear,

Ver. 321.] Travers, more faithfully, but ambiguously:
 Nor grant my warlike son to call me fire.

And Homer says nothing about *arms*. Hear faithful Ogilby:

Let not Ulysses' head these shoulders bear,
 Nor yet Telemachus be styl'd my heir,
 If thee I naked strip not, strip and whip,
 And through the army lash unto thy ship.

In the original of ver. 321. the phrase *κακλήμεν & εἶην* is perpetually
 redundant in the poets for *εἶην* only: hence the different interpre-
 tations of translators. I agree with Mr. Cowper's version:

————— And may my son
 Prove the begotten of another's fire;

and so the author of the travesty:

Or in his stead behold another,
 Got by some rascal on his mother.

Expel the council where our princes meet,
And fend thee scourg'd, and howling thro' the
fleet. 325

He said, and cow'ring as the dastard bends,
The weighty sceptre on his back descends:
On the round bunch the bloody tumours rise;
The tears spring starting from his haggard eyes:
Trembling he sat, and shrunk in abject fears, 330
From his vile visage wip'd the scalding tears.
While to his neighbour each express'd his thought:
Ye Gods! what wonders has Ulysses wrought!

Ver. 326. *He said, and cow'ring.*] The vile figure Therfites makes here is a good piece of *grotesque*; the pleasure expressed by the soldiers at this action of Ulysses (notwithstanding they are disappointed by him of their hopes of returning) is agreeable to that generous temper, at once honest and thoughtless, which is commonly found in military men; to whom nothing is so odious as a dastard, and who have not naturally the greatest kindness for a wit. P.

If a temporary diversion be desirable, Ogilby's translation here will not fail of conveying this gratification to a reader not steeled against ludicrous emotion:

Then with his ponderous sceptre, as he spake,
"He took the measure of his crooked back."

Ver. 329.] He should have rendered:

The tears spring *copious* from his haggard eyes.

See my note on the Trachiniæ of Sophocles, ver. 847. and to say that *starting* tears *spring*, is a form of speech, which no reader will be disposed to admire.

Ver. 332.] Our poet has entirely neglected a beautiful and descriptive verse of his original, thus coarsely represented by Hobbes:

What fruits his conduct and his courage yield?
 Great in the council, glorious in the field. 335
 Gen'rous he rises in the crown's defence,
 To curb the factious tongue of insolence.
 Such just examples on offenders shown,
 Sedition silence, and assert the throne.

'Twas thus the general voice the hero prais'd,
 Who rising, high th' imperial sceptre rais'd: 341
 The blue-ey'd Pallas, his celestial friend,
 (In form a herald) bade the crouds attend.
 Th' expecting crouds in still attention hung,
 To hear the wisdom of his heav'nly tongue. 345
 Then deeply thoughtful, pausing e'er he spoke,
 His silence thus the prudent hero broke.

Unhappy monarch! whom the Grecian race
 With shame deserting, heap with vile disgrace.

The people, that were sad
 But just before, now could not chuse but laugh:

and thus with great neatness by Mr. Cowper:

It was no time
 For mirth, yet mirth illumin'd every face;
 And laughing thus they spake.

Ver. 338.] This is elegant, but weakens the original by losing a particular application in a general maxim. Mr. Cowper is, as at all times, faithful:

The valiant talker shall not soon, we judge,
 Take liberties with royal names again.

Ver. 348. *Unhappy monarch!* &c.] Quintilian, speaking of the various kinds of oratory which may be learned from Homer,

Not such at Argos was their gen'rous vow, 350
 Once all their voice, but ah! forgotten now:
 Ne'er to return, was then the common cry,
 'Till Troy's proud structures should in ashes lie.

mentions among the greatest instances the speeches in this book. "Nonne vel unus liber quo missa ad Achillem legatio continetur, vel in primo inter duces illa contentio, vel dictæ in secundo sententiæ, omnes litium ac consiliorum explicat artes? Affectus quidem vel illos mites, vel hos concitados nemo erit tam indoctus, qui non suâ in potestate hunc autorem habuisse fateatur." It is indeed hardly possible to find any where more refined turns of policy, or more artful touches of oratory. We have no sooner seen Agamemnon excel in one sort, but Ulysses is to shine no less in another directly opposite to it. When the stratagem of pretending to set sail, had met with too ready a consent from the people, his eloquence appears in all the forms of art. In his first speech he had persuaded the captains with mildness, telling them the people's glory depended upon them, and readily giving a turn to the first design, which had like to have been so dangerous, by representing it only as a project of Agamemnon to discover the cowardly. In his second, he had commanded the soldiers with bravery, and made them know what part they sustained in the war. In his third, he had rebuked the seditious in the person of Thersites, by reproofs, threats, and actual chastisement. And now in this fourth, when all are gathered together, he applies to them in topics which equally affect them all; he raises their hearts by putting them in mind of the promises of heaven, and those prophecies, of which, as they had seen the truth in nine years delay, they might expect the accomplishment in the tenth year's success; which is a full answer to what Agamemnon had said of Jupiter's deceiving them.

Dionysius observes one singular piece of art, in Ulysses's manner of applying himself to the people when he would insinuate any thing to the princes, and addressing to the princes when he would blame the people. He tells the soldiers, they must not all pretend to be rulers there, let there be one king, one lord; which is manifestly a precept designed for the leaders to take to themselves. In the same manner Tiberius Rhetor remarks the beginning of his last

Behold them weeping for their native shore! 354
 What could their wives or helpless children more?
 What heart but melts to leave the tender train,
 And, one short month, endure the wintry main?
 Few leagues remov'd, we wish our peaceful seat,
 When the ship tosses, and the tempests beat:
 Then well may this long stay provoke their tears,
 The tedious length of nine revolving years. 361
 Not for their grief the Grecian host I blame;
 But vanquish'd! baffled! oh eternal shame!

oration to be a fine *Ethiopopeia* or oblique reprehension of the people, upon whom the severity of the reproach is made to fall, while he seems to render the king an object of their pity:

Unhappy monarch! whom the Grecian race
 With shame deserting, &c.

P.

Ver. 349.] Dacier has employed a similar turn of expression. "Les Grecs veulent aujourd'hui vous couvrir de confusion et de honte." The following couplet claims no merit but that of fidelity, with a view of pointing out the probability of our poet's imitation:

The Greeks now, king Atrides! seem inclin'd
 To make thee most inglorious to mankind.

Ver. 360.] Homer has nothing about *tears*, but about *weariness* and *vexation*. Thus Mr. Travers:

Then well may Greece require her native foil,
 Spent with nine years of unsuccessful toil.

Ver. 363.] His original says exactly,

————— and yet 'tis base
 So long to stay, and empty to return:

but Ogilby:

But to stay long, our labour for our pain,
 And so return, were an eternall stain.

Expect the time to Troy's destruction giv'n,
 And try the faith of Chalcas and of heav'n. 365
 What past at Aulis, Greece can witness bear,
 And all who live to breathe this Phrygian air.
 Beside a fountain's sacred brink we rais'd
 Our verdant altars, and the victims blaz'd;
 ('Twas where the plane-tree spread its shades
 around) 370
 The altars heav'd; and from the crumbling ground
 A mighty dragon shot, of dire portent;
 From Jove himself the dreadful sign was sent.

Ver. 366.] He drops some thoughts of his original, thus preserved by Travers:

How, when at Aulis, big with future woes
 To Priam's race combin'd his Grecian foes.

Ver. 370.] Hobbes and Cowper have expressed all their author: of whom the latter thus elegantly:

— We beside the fount
 With perfect hecatombs the Gods adored
 Beneath the plane-tree, from whose root a stream
 Ran chrystal-clear.

Ver. 371.] Our poet might derive this imagery from Paradise Lost. vii. 468.

— The ounce,
 The libbard, and the tyger, as the mole,
 Rising the crumbled earth above them threw
 In hillocks:

or he might recollect a sublime passage in Ovid's Metamorphoses, xiii. 442. speaking of the ghost of Achilles:

Exit humo latè ruptâ:

Here the wide-opening earth to sudden view
 Disclos'd Achilles.

Stanyan's version.

Strait to the tree his sanguine spires he roll'd,
 And curl'd around in many a winding fold. 375
 The topmost branch a mother-bird possess'd;
 Eight callow infants fill'd the mossy nest;
 Herself the ninth; the serpent as he hung,
 Stretch'd his black jaws, and crash'd the crying
 young;
 While hov'ring near, with miserable moan, 380
 The drooping mother wail'd her children gone.
 The mother last, as round the nest she flew,
 Seiz'd by the beating wing, the monster flew:
 Nor long surviv'd; to marble turn'd he stands
 A lasting prodigy on Aulis' sands. 385
 Such was the will of Jove; and hence we dare
 Trust in his omen, and support the war.
 For while around we gaze with wond'ring eyes,
 And trembling sought the pow'rs with sacrifice,
 Full of his God, the rev'rend Chalcas cry'd, 390
 Ye Grecian warriors! lay your fears aside.
 This wond'rous signal Jove himself displays,
 Of long, long labours, but eternal praise.

Ver. 382.] This couplet furnishes a remarkable instance of that ambiguity, which perpetually accompanies our poets, arising from a want of terminations to distinguish the *cases* of *nouns*.

Ver. 385.] So Dacier: "*Un signe stable et merveilleux.*"

Ver. 386 & 387.] Two unnecessary verses of his own invention.

Ver. 392.] This couplet is exquisitely fine.

As many birds as by the snake were slain,
 So many years the toils of Greece remain ; 395
 But wait the tenth, for Ilion's fall decreed :
 Thus spoke the prophet, thus the Fates succeed.
 Obey, ye Grecians ! with submission wait,
 Nor let your flight avert the Trojan fate. 399

He said : the shores with loud applauses found,
 The hollow ships each deaf'ning shout rebound.
 Then Nestor thus—These vain debates forbear,
 Ye talk like children, not like heroes dare.

Ver. 394.] The simplicity of the original is lost in the brevity of the translation. Mr. Cowper, as Chapman before him, has succeeded much better :

E'en as this serpent in your sight devour'd
 Eight youngling sparrows, with their dam, the ninth ;
 So we nine years must war on yonder plain.

Ver. 402. *Then Nestor thus.*] Nothing is more observable than Homer's conduct of this whole incident ; by what judicious and well-imagined degrees the army is restrained, and wrought up to the desires of the general. We have given the detail of all the methods Ulysses proceeded in : the activity of his character is now to be contrasted with the gravity of Nestor's, who covers and strengthens the other's arguments, and constantly appears through the poem a weighty closer of debates. The Greeks had already seen their General give way to his authority, in the dispute with Achilles in the former book, and could expect no less than that their stay should be concluded on by Agamemnon as soon as Nestor undertook that cause. For this was all they imagined his discourse aimed at ; but we shall find it had a farther design, from Dionysius of Halicarnassus. “ There are two things (says that excellent
 “ critick) worthy of admiration in the speeches of Ulysses and
 “ Nestor, which are the different designs they speak with, and the
 “ different applauses they receive. Ulysses had the acclamations of

Where now are all your high resolves at last? 404
Your leagues concluded, your engagements past?

“ the army, and Nestor the praise of Agamemnon. One may en-
“ quire the reason, why he extols the latter preferably to the for-
“ mer, when all that Nestor alledges seems only a repetition of the
“ same arguments which Ulysses had given before him: it might
“ be done in encouragement to the old man, in whom it might raise
“ a concern to find his speech not followed with so general
“ an applause as the other's. But we are to refer the speech of
“ Nestor to that part of oratory which seems only to confirm what
“ another has said, and yet superinduces and carries a farther
“ point. Ulysses and Nestor both compare the Greeks to children
“ for their unmanly desire to return home; they both reproach
“ them with the engagements and vows they had past, and were
“ now about to break; they both alledge the prosperous signs and
“ omens received from heaven. Notwithstanding this, the end
“ of their orations is very different. Ulysses's business was to de-
“ tain the Grecians when they were upon the point of flying;
“ Nestor finding that work done to his hands, designed to draw
“ them instantly to battle. This was the utmost Agamemnon had
“ aimed at, which Nestor's artifice brings to pass; for while they
“ imagine by all he says that he is only persuading them to stay,
“ they find themselves unawares put into order of battle, and led
“ under their Princes to fight.” Dion. Hal. *περί ἱστορικῶν μύθων*,
Part 1 and 2.

We may next take notice of some particulars of this speech: where he says they lose their time in *empty words*, he hints at the dispute between Agamemnon and Achilles: where he speaks of those who *deserted the Grecian cause*, he glances at Achilles in particular. When he represents Helen in affliction and tears, he removes the odium from the person in whose cause they were to fight; and when he moves Agamemnon to advise with his council, artfully prepares for a reception of his own advice by that modest way of proposing it. As for the advice itself, to divide the army into bodies, each of which should be composed entirely of men of the same country; nothing could be better judged both in regard to the present circumstance, and with an eye to the future carrying on of the war. For the first, its immediate effect was to take the

Vow'd with libations and with victims then,
 Now vanish'd like their smoke: the faith of men!
 While useless words consume th' unactive hours,
 No wonder Troy so long resists our pow'rs.
 Rise, great Atrides! and with courage sway; 410
 We march to war if thou direct the way.
 But leave the few that dare resist thy laws,
 The mean deserters of the Grecian cause,
 To grudge the conquests mighty Jove prepares,
 And view, with envy, our successful wars. 415

whole army out of its tumult, break whatever cabals they might have formed together by separating them into a new division, and cause every single mutineer to come instantly under the view of his own proper officer for correction. For the second, it was to be thought the army would be much strengthened by this union: those of different nations who had different aims, interests and friendships, could not assist each other with so much zeal, or so well concur to the same end, as when friends aided friends, kinsmen their kinsmen, &c. when each commander had the glory of his own nation in view, and a greater emulation was excited between body and body; as not only warring for the honour of Greece in general, but that of every distinct *state* in particular. P.

Ver. 407.] Homer says, "They would all be in the fire;" that is, consumed and annihilated: but Dacier, whom our poet follows: "Tout cela donc *disparu* avec *la fumée* de nos sacrifices."

Ver. 410.] Travers more exactly:

Lead on, Atrides: Greece her arms shall wield,
 Sway'd by thy counsels in the fighting field.

Ver. 413.] Chapman has accurately copied his original:

They will for Argos, ere they know, if that which Jove hath said
 Be false or true.

On that great day when first the martial train,
 Big with the fate of Ilion, plow'd the main;
 Jove, on the right, a prosp'rous signal sent,
 And thunder rolling shook the firmament. 419
 Encourag'd hence, maintain the glorious strife,
 'Till ev'ry soldier grasp a Phrygian wife,
 'Till Helen's woes at full reveng'd appear,
 And Troy's proud matrons render tear for tear.
 Before that day, if any Greek invite
 His country's troops to base, inglorious flight; 425
 Stand forth that Greek! and hoist his sail to fly,
 And die the dastard first, who dreads to die.
 But now, O monarch! all thy chiefs advise:
 Nor what they offer, thou thyself despise.
 Among those counsels, let not mine be vain; 430
 In tribes and nations to divide thy train:
 His sep'rate troops let ev'ry leader call,
 Each strengthen each, and all encourage all.
 What chief, or soldier, of the num'rous band,
 Or bravely fights, or ill obeys command, 435

Ver. 425.] Mr. Cowper has best preserved the spirit of his author.

————— What soldier languishes and fights

To leave us? Let him dare to lay his hand
 On his own vessel, and he dies the first.

Ver. 429.] Literally thus:

But give, O! king, thyself, and take advice:

Dacier, however, in the language of our translator: "*Ne rejettez pas ceux des autres.*"

When thus distinct they war, shall soon be known,
And what the cause of Ilion not o'erthrown;
If Fate resists, or if our arms are slow,
If Gods above prevent, or men below.

To him the king: how much thy years excel
In arts of council, and in speaking well! 441
O would the Gods, in love to Greece, decree
But ten such fates as they grant in thee;

Ver. 440. *How much thy years excel.*] Every one has observed how glorious an eulogium of wisdom Homer has here given, where Agamemnon so far prefers it to valour, as to wish not for ten Ajax's, or Achilles's, but only for ten Nestor's. For the rest of this speech, Dionysius has summed it up as follows. "Agamemnon being now convinced the Greeks were offended at him, on account of the departure of Achilles, pacifies them by a generous confession of his fault; but then asserts the character of a supreme ruler, and with the air of command threatens the disobedient." I cannot conclude this part of the speeches without remarking how beautifully they rise above one another, and how they more and more awaken the spirit of war in the Grecians. In this last there is a wonderful fire and vivacity, when he prepares them for the glorious toils they were to undergo by a warm and lively description of them. The repetition of the words in that part has a beauty, which (as well as many others of the same kind) has been lost by most translators.

Εὖ μὲν τις δόρυ θηξάτω, εἴ δ' ἀσπίδα θέστω,
Εὖ δέ τις ἵπποισιν δειπνον δότω ἀκυπόδεσσιν,
Εὖ δέ τις ἄρματα ἀμφὶς ἰδὼν —————

I cannot but believe Milton had this passage in his eye in that of his sixth book.

Let each
His adamantine coat gird well; and each
Fit well his helm, gripe fast his orbed shield, &c.

Such wisdom soon should Priam's force destroy,
 And soon should fall the haughty tow'rs of Troy!
 But Jove forbids, who plunges those he hates 446
 In fierce contention and in vain debates.
 Now great Achilles from our aid withdraws,
 By me provok'd; a captive maid the cause:
 If e'er as friends we join, the Trojan wall 450
 Must shake, and heavy will the vengeance fall!
 But now, ye warriors, take a short repast;
 And, well-refresh'd, to bloody conflict haste.
 His sharpen'd spear let ev'ry Grecian wield,
 And ev'ry Grecian fix his brazen shield, 455
 Let all excite the fiery steeds of war,
 And all for combat fit the rattling car.
 This day, this dreadful day, let each contend;
 No rest, no respite, 'till the shades descend;
 'Till darkness, or 'till death, shall cover all: 460
 Let the war bleed, and let the mighty fall!
 'Till bath'd in sweat be ev'ry manly breast,
 With the huge shield each brawny arm deprest,
 Each aking nerve refuse the lance to throw,
 And each spent courser at the chariot blow. 465

Ver. 463.] An addition of his own, which appears to advantage in such a noble and animated passage. Mr. Cowper also is excellent, as well as faithful:

————— Every buckler's thong
 Shall sweat on the toil'd bosom; every hand,
 That shakes the spear, shall ache, and every steed
 Shall smoke, that whirls the chariot o'er the plain.

Who dares, inglorious, in his ships to stay,
 Who dares to tremble on this signal day;
 That wretch, too mean to fall by martial pow'r,
 The bird shall mangle, and the dogs devour.

The monarch spoke; and strait a murmur rose,
 Loud as the surges when the tempest blows, 471
 That dash'd on broken rocks tumultuous roar,
 And foam and thunder on the stony shore.
 Strait to the tents the troops dispersing bend,
 The fires are kindled, and the smokes ascend; 475
 With hasty feasts they sacrifice, and pray
 T' avert the dangers of the doubtful day.
 A steer of five year's age, large limb'd and fed,
 To Jove's high altars Agamemnon led:
 There bade the noblest of the Grecian peers; 480
 And Nestor first, as most advanc'd in years.
 Next came Idomeneus, and Tydeus' son,
 Ajax the less, and Ajax Telamon;

Ver. 470.] This is grand poetry, but not Homer; to whom Chapman keeps closest of the old translators, and Mr. Cowper is still more observant of his author. The following attempt is accurately faithful:

He spake; the legions shouted, like a wave
 On a high shore, dash'd by the boisterous south
 Against a cliff projecting, which the swell
 Incessant beats, from every wind that blows.

Ver. 476.] His original required,

Each to his God, they sacrifice and pray.

Then wife Ulysses in his rank was plac'd ;
 And Menelaüs came unbid, the last. 485
 The chiefs surround the destin'd beast, and take
 The sacred off'ring of the salted cake :
 When thus the king prefers his solemn pray'r,
 Oh thou ! whose thunder rends the clouded air,
 Who in the heav'n of heav'ns has fix'd thy throne,
 Supreme of Gods ! unbounded, and alone ! 491
 Hear ! and before the burning sun descends,
 Before the night her gloomy veil extends,

Ver. 485. *And Menelaüs came unbid.*] The criticks have entered into a warm dispute, whether Menelaus was in the right or in the wrong, in coming uninvited : some maintaining it the part of an impertinent or a fool to intrude upon another man's table : and others insisting upon the privilege a brother or a kinsman may claim in this case. The English reader had not been troubled with the translation of this word *Αυτόματω*, but that Plato and Plutarch have taken notice of the passage. The verse following this, in most editions, *Ἦδες γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν*, &c. being rejected as spurious by Demetrius Phalereus, is omitted here upon his authority. P.

The line which he has neglected may be thus expressed :

Next Menelaüs, an unbidden guest ;
 Aware what sorrows rackt his brother's breast.

Ver. 489.] Ogilby is exact, and with some correction more than tolerable :

*Great Jove, whose glorious mansion is the skies !
 Let not the sun go down, nor darkness rise,
 E'er Priam's prostrate dome this arm destroy,
 And burn with hostile flames the gates of Troy.
 Almighty thunderer, thy strength afford
 To cleave great Hector's corset with my sword !
 In dust let prostrate friends his corse surround,
 And bite with agonising teeth the ground.*

Low in the dust be laid yon' hostile spires,
 Be Priam's palace sunk in Grecian fires, 495
 In Hector's breast be plung'd this shining sword,
 And slaughter'd heroes groan around their Lord!

Thus pray'd the chief: his unavailing pray'r
 Great Jove refus'd, and tost in empty air:
 The God averse, while yet the fumes arose, 500
 Prepar'd new toils, and doubled woes on woes.
 Their pray'rs perform'd, the chiefs the rite pursue,
 The barley sprinkled, and the victim flew.
 The limbs they sever from th' inclosing hide,
 The thighs, selected to the Gods, divide. 505
 On these, in double cauls involv'd with art,
 The choicest morsels lie from ev'ry part.

Ver. 496.] Our poet is too concise: Travers is more successful, who has uniformly profited both from the excellencies and defects of his predecessor.

Let Hector's arms no more the chief befriend;
 Fierce thro' his corslet may this sword descend:
 Prone at his feet with many a fatal wound
 Let his grim warriors bite the dusty ground.

Ver. 500.] Our poet disguises a circumstance, which is well represented by Travers:

Thus, but in vain, the suppliant monarch strove
 To melt the heart of unrelenting Jove;
Tho' grateful were the rites, the god decreed
 That woes unnumber'd should on woes succeed.

Ogilby is by no means despicable on this occasion.

Thus pray'd the king; but he, that rules the skies,
 Slighted his suit, but took his sacrifice.

From the cleft wood the crackling flames aspire,
While the fat victims feed the sacred fire.

The thighs thus sacrific'd, and entrails drest, 510

Th' assistants part, transfix, and roast the rest;

Then spread the tables, the repast prepare,

Each takes his seat, and each receives his share.

Soon as the rage of hunger was suppress'd,

The gen'rous Nestor thus the Prince address'd. 515

Now bid thy heralds sound the loud alarms,

And call the squadrons sheath'd in brazen arms:

Now seize th' occasion, now the troops survey,

And lead to war when heav'n directs the way.

He said; the monarch issu'd his commands; 520

Strait the loud heralds call the gath'ring bands.

The chiefs inclose their King; the hosts divide,

In tribes and nations rank'd on either side.

High in the midst the blue-ey'd virgin flies;

From rank to rank she darts her ardent eyes: 525

Ver. 516.] The translator passes over *three* entire verses of his master, which Mr. Cowper has executed very commendably; and I shall attempt myself:

Illustrious son of Atreus, king of men!

Debate we here no longer, nor delay

To execute whate'er great Jove ordains.

Ver. 523.] He probably consulted Chapman's translation:

The Jove-kept kings about the king all gather'd, with their aide
Rang'd all in tribes and nations.

Ver. 525.] Our translator was mindful of Milton here, *Par. Lost*, i. 567:

The dreadful Ægis, Jove's immortal shield,
Blaz'd on her arm, and lighten'd all the field:

He through the armed files
Darts his experienc'd eye, and soon traverse
The whole battalion views, their order due:

for this noble verse is a rapturous effusion of his own; and his enthusiasm has thrown a glorious lustre on other parts of the passage, unborrowed from his author: and let general excellence atone, if it can atone, for the addition of some circumstances and the suppression of others. The unauthorized appendage of *serpents* in ver. 528, mentioned in his own note, might be first suggested by Chapman; whose version will shew some of our poet's omissions also.

With them the gray-ey'd maid
Great Ægis, Jove's bright shield, sustain'd, that can be never old,
Never corrupted, fring'd about with SERPENTS forg'd of gold,
As many as suffic'd to make *a hundred fringes*, worth
A hundred oxen; everie snake all sprawling, all set forth
With wond'rous spirit.

And all the translators concur in mistaking the Ægis for a shield: that it was a *breast-plate* appears sufficiently from Iliad v. 909. and I have proved abundantly in my notes on verses 1015, 1443, of the *Ion* of Euripides.

The following version is literal:

With them the blue-eyed maid her Ægis held,
Precious, not subject to decay, or death:

Dacier's "*la redoutable Egide*," supplied our translator with his *epithet*.

Ver. 526. *The dreadful Ægis, Jove's immortal shield.*] Homer does not expressly call it a shield in this place, but it is plain from several other passages that it was so. In the fifth Iliad, this Ægis is described with a sublimity that is inexpressible. The figure of the Gorgon's head upon it is there specified, which will justify the mention of the serpents in the translation here: the verses are remarkably sonorous in the original. The image of the goddess of battles blazing with her immortal shield before the army, inspiring every hero, and assisting to range the troops, is agreeable to the bold painting of our author. And the encouragement of a divine power

Round the vast orb an hundred serpents roll'd,
Form'd the bright fringe, and seem'd to burn in
gold.

529

With this each Grecian's manly breast she warms,
Swells their bold hearts, and strings their nervous
arms ;

No more they sigh, inglorious to return,
But breathe revenge, and for the combat burn.

As on some mountain thro' the lofty grove,
The crackling flames ascend, and blaze above ;

seemed no more than was requisite, to change so totally the dispositions of the Grecians, as to make them now more ardent for the combat than they were before desirous of a return. This finishes the conquest of their inclinations, in a manner at once wonderfully poetical, and correspondent to the moral which is every where spread through Homer, that nothing is entirely brought about but by divine assistance.

P.

Ver. 534. *As on some mountain, &c.*] The imagination of Homer was so vast and so lively, that whatsoever objects presented themselves before him, impressed their images so forcibly, that he poured them forth in comparisons equally simple and noble ; without forgetting any circumstance which could instruct the reader, and make him see those objects in the same strong light wherein he saw them himself. And in this one of the principle beauties of poetry consists. Homer, on the sight of the march of this numerous army, gives us five similes in a breath, but all entirely different. The first regards the splendour of their armour, as a fire, &c. The second the various movements of so many thousands before they can range themselves in battle array, like the swans, &c. The third respects their number, as the leaves or flowers, &c. The fourth the ardour with which they run to the combat, like the legions of insects, &c. And the fifth the obedience and exact discipline of the troops, ranged without confusion under their leaders, as flocks under their shepherds. This fecundity and variety can never be enough admired. Dacier.

P.

The fires expanding, as the winds arise, 536
 Shoot their long beams, and kindle half the skies:
 So from the polish'd arms, and brazen shields,
 A gleamy splendour flash'd along the fields.
 Not less their number than th' embody'd cranes,
 Or milk-white swans in Afus' wat'ry plains, 541
 That o'er the windings of Cæster's springs,
 Stretch their long necks, and clap their rustling
 wings,

Ver. 535.] He would have been true to his original, had he written: *Consuming flames ascend.*

Ver. 540.] Ogilby has the same rhymes:

Thick as or geese, or long-neck'd swans, or cranes,
 Near to Cæster's streams on Asia's plains.

Ver. 541. *Or milk-white swans on Afus' wat'ry plains.*] Scalliger, who is seldom just to our author, yet confesses these verses to be *plenissima nectaris*. But he is greatly mistaken when he accuses this simile of impropriety, on the supposition that a number of birds flying without order are here compared to an army ranged in array of battle. On the contrary, Homer in this expresses the stir and tumult the troops were in, before they got into order, running together from the ships and tents: Νεῶν ἀπὸ, καὶ κλισιάων. But when they are placed in their ranks, he compares them to the flocks under their shepherds. This distinction will plainly appear from the detail of the five similes in the foregoing note.

Virgil has imitated this with great happiness in his seventh Æneid.

“Ceum quondam nivei liquida inter nubila cycni

“Cum sese è pastu referunt, & longa canoros

“Dant per colla modos, sonat amnis & Asia longè

“Pulsa palus” —————

Like a long team of snowy swans on high,

Which clap their wings and cleave the liquid sky,

When homeward from their watry pastures born,

They sing, and Asia's lakes their notes return,

Now tow'r aloft, and course in airy rounds ;
 Now light with noise ; with noise the field re-
 sounds. 545

Thus num'rous and confus'd, extending wide,
 The legions croud Scamander's flow'ry side ;
 With rushing troops the plains are cover'd o'er,
 And thund'ring footsteps shake the founding
 shore.

Along the river's level meads they stand, 550
 Thick as in spring the flow'rs adorn the land,
 Or leaves the trees ; or thick as insects play,
 The wandring nation of a summer's day.

Mr. Dryden in this place has mistaken *Asius* for *Asia*, which Virgil took care to distinguish by making the first syllable of *Asius* long, as of *Asia* short. Though (if we believe Madam Dacier) he was himself in an error, both here and in the first Georgic.

“ ————— Quæ Asia circum
 “ Duleibus in stagnis rimantur prata Caystri.”

For she will not allow that 'Ασίω can be a Patronymic adjective, but the genitive of a proper name, 'Ασίς, which being turned into Ionic is 'Ασίω, and by a Syncope makes 'Ασίω. This puts me in mind of another criticism upon the 290th verse of this book : 'tis observed that Virgil uses *Inarime* for *Arime*, as if he had read, *Εἰς ἀρίμους*, instead of *Εἰς Ἀρίμους*. Scaliger ridicules this trivial remark, and asks if it can be imagined that Virgil was ignorant of the name of a place so near him as Baïæ? It is indeed unlucky for good writers, that men who have learning, should lay a stress upon such trifles ; and that those who have none, should think it learning to do so. P.

Ver. 548.] On account of the feeble termination of the verse, *cover'd o'er*, I prefer Travers' translation :

Dire was the shock, and terrible the sound,
 Of steeds and warriors trampling o'er the ground.

That drawn by milky steams, at ev'ning hours,
 In gather'd swarms surround the rural bow'rs;
 From pail to pail with busy murmur run 556
 The gilded legions, glitt'ring in the sun.

Ver. 552. *Or thick as insects play.*] This simile translated literally runs thus; *As the numerous troops of flies about a shepherd's cottage in spring, when the milk moistens the pails; such numbers of Greeks stood in the field against the Trojans, desiring their destruction.* The lowness of this image, in comparison with those which precede it, will naturally shock a modern critick, and would scarce be forgiven in a poet of these times. The utmost a translator can do is to heighten the expression, so as to render the disparity less observable; which is endeavoured here, and in other places. If this be done successfully, the reader is so far from being offended at a low idea, that it raises his surprise to find it grown great in the poet's hands, of which we have frequent instances in Virgil's Georgicks. Here follows another of the same kind, in the simile of Agamemnon to a bull, just after he has been compared to Jove, Mars, and Neptune. This, Eustathius tells us, was blamed by some criticks, and Mr. Hobbes has left it out in his translation. The liberty has been taken here to place the humbler simile first, reserving the noble one as a more magnificent close of the description: the bare turning the sentence removes the objection. Milton, who was a close imitator of our author, has often copied him in these humble comparisons. He has not scrupled to insert one in the midst of that pompous description of the rout of the rebel angels in the sixth book, where the Son of God in all his dreadful Majesty is represented pouring his vengeance upon them:

————— As a herd
 Of goats, or tim'rous flocks together throng'd,
 Drove them before him thunder-struck —————.

Ver. 556.] A beautiful couplet of his own, sufficiently accounted for by our poet in his note on the passage. We must regret, however, that he does not seem to have relished in a manner, that might have been expected from his taste and genius, the simplicity of his original. Hence one circumstance, which confers the

So throng'd, so close, the Grecian squadrons stood
 In radiant arms, and thirst for Trojan blood.
 Each leader now his scatter'd force conjoins, 560
 In close array, and forms the deep'ning lines.
 Not with more ease, the skilful shepherd swain
 Collects his flocks from thousands on the plain.
 The King of Kings, majestically tall, 564
 Tow'rs o'er his armies, and outshines them all:
 Like some proud bull that round the pastures leads
 His subject-herds, the monarch of the meads.
 Great as the gods, th' exalted chief was seen,
 His strength like Neptune, and like Mars his
 mien;

highest value on Homer, scarcely appears in his translator; a delineation of the manners, individual and political, of antiquity.

Gray might possibly profit by this passage in his Ode on Spring:

Some lightly o'er the current skim,

Some shew their gaily-gilded trim

Quick-glancing to the sun.

Ver. 560.] Or thus? for a better rhyme:

Each leader now his scatter'd force *combines*.

Ver. 568. *Great as the Gods.*] Homer here describes the figure and port of Agamemnon with all imaginable grandeur, in making him appear clothed with the majesty of the greatest of the Gods; and when Plutarch (in his second oration of the fortune of Alexander) blamed the comparison of a man to three deities at once, that censure was not passed upon Homer as a poet, but by Plutarch as a priest. This character of majesty, in which Agamemnon excels all the other heroes, is preserved in the different views of him throughout the Iliad. It is thus he appears on his ship in the catalogue; thus he shines in the eyes of Priam in the third book; thus again in the beginning of the eleventh; and so in the rest. P.

Jove o'er his eyes celestial glories spread, 570
And dawning conquest play'd around his head.

Say, Virgins, seated round the throne divine,
All-knowing goddesses ! immortal nine !

Ver. 570.] Here again his own enthusiasm, kindling with his author, carried him away from the direct road of imitation, into a magnificent region of original beauty. That sublime imagery in Lee's Alexander might cross his memory on this occasion :

When Glory, like the conqu'ring eagle, stood
Perch'd on my beaver in the Granic flood.

But his principal attention was fix'd on Cowley, David. iv. 863.

Bright signs through all your words and looks are spread,
A rising victory dawns around your head.

And, as if to make amends for his degrading parodies of many grand passages, he here ennobles a ludicrous expression of his master Dryden in his Mac Flecnœ :

His brows, thick fogs, instead of glories, grace ;
And lambent dulness play'd around his face.

Travers is somewhat more faithful :

High stood Atrides o'er the warrior race,
Like Jove in awful majesty of face ;
His form divine the pow'r of Mars confest,
The strength of Neptune glow'd around his breast.

Hobbes is literal, whom I quote merely, that the English reader may know Homer as he is :

Like Jove in head and face ;
Belted like Mars ; like Neptune's was his breast.

This in more poetical stile might be written thus :

In eyes and head like Jove he stood confest,
In belt like Mars ; like Neptune's was his breast.

Ver. 572. *Say, Virgins.*] It is hard to conceive any address more solemn, any opening to a subject more noble and magnificent, than this invocation of Homer before his catalogue. That omnipresence he gives to the Muses, their post in the highest heaven, their comprehensive survey through the whole extent of the creation,

Since earth's wide regions, heav'n's unmeasur'd
 height, 574
 And hell's abyfs, hide nothing from your fight,
 (We, wretched mortals! loft in doubts below,
 But guefs by rumour, and but boast we know)
 Oh fay what heroes, fir'd by thirst of fame,
 Or urg'd by wrongs, to Troy's destruction came?
 To count them all, demands a thoufand tongues,
 A throat of brafs and adamantine lungs. 581

are circumftances greatly imagined. Nor is any thing more perfectly fine, or exquisitely moral, than the oppofition of the extenfive knowledge of the divinities on the one fide, to the blindnefs and ignorance of mankind on the other. The greatnefs and importance of his fubject is highly raifed by his exalted manner of declaring the difficulty of it, *Not tho' my lungs were brafs, &c.* and by the air he gives, as if what follows were immediately infpired, and no lefs than the joint labour of all the Mufes. P.

Ver. 574.] He has amplified Homer by borrowing thoughts from Milton, Par. Loft. i. 27.

Say firft, for Heav'n hides nothing from thy view,
 Nor the deep tract of hell.

Travers is exact and elegant :

Say, Goddeffes, who crown th' Olympian hill,
 With pow'r omnifcient and with tuneful skill,
 For we no more than dark reports enjoy,
 What chiefs and heroes led the Greeks to Troy.

Ver. 578.] Ogilby is,

(We onely hear reports from flying *Fame*)
 What princes to the Trojan leaguer *came*.

Ver. 580.] Dryden, *Æn.* vi. 851. who has almoft literally copied Ogilby:

Had I a hundred mouths, a hundred *tongues*,
 And *throats of brafs*, inspir'd with iron *lungs*.—

Daughters of Jove assist! inspir'd by you
 The mighty labour dauntless I pursue:
 What crouded armies, from what climes they
 bring;
 Their names, their numbers, and their chiefs
 I sing. 585

THE CATALOGUE OF THE SHIPS.

THE hardy warriors whom Bœotia bred,
 Penelios, Leitus, Prothoënor led;

Homer required *ten* tongues, Virgil a *hundred*, and our translator thought that no less than a *thousand* of *his* degenerate contemporaries would suffice:

Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus.

These rhymes are incorrect.

Ver. 584.] Thus Chapman, whom our poet follows:

———— The princes then, and navie that did *bring*
 Those so inenarrable *troopes*, and all their *soyles*, *I sing*:

or Homer says only,

The naval chiefs and all their ships I sing.

Ver. 585.] Thus Dryden, *Æn.* x. 244:

Their arms, *their numbers*, and *their names* declare.

As he had mentioned the *heroes* in ver. 578, he might easily have approached nearer to his author:

Their names, their numbers, and their *ships* I sing.

Travers, profiting from our poet elsewhere, thus translates:

To me your aid, celestial Muses, bring,

The chiefs, the warriors, and the ships to sing.

Ver. 586. *The hardy warriors.*] The catalogue begins in this place, which I forbear to treat of at present: only I must acknowledge here that the translation has not been exactly punctual to the

With these Arcefilaus and Clonius stand,
 Equal in arms, and equal in command.
 These head the troops that rocky Aulis yields, 590
 And Eteon's hills, and Hyrie's watry fields,
 And Schœnos, Scholos, Græa near the main,
 And Mycaleffia's ample piny plain.
 Those who in Peteon or Ilesion dwell,
 Or Harma where Apollo's prophet fell; 595

order in which Homer places his towns. However it has not trespassed against geography; the transpositions I mention being no other than such minute ones, as Strabo confesses the author himself is not free from: 'Ο δὲ Ποιητὴς γένια μὲν χώρας λέγει συνεχῶς, ὥσπερ καὶ κεῖται. Οἷθ' ὑρίην ἐνέμνοντο, καὶ Αὐλίδαι, &c. Ἄλλο τὲ δ' ἔχ' ὡς ἔστι τῇ τάξει, Σκοῖνον τὲ Σκόλον τε Θέσπειαν Γραῖαν τε. lib. 8. There is not to my remembrance any place throughout this catalogue omitted; a liberty which Mr. Dryden has made no difficulty to take, and to confess, in his Virgil. But a more scrupulous care was owing to Homer, on account of that wonderful exactness and unequalled diligence, which he has particularly shewn in this part of his work. P.

He has taken the rhymes and spelling of Chapman here:

Penelius, and Leitus, all that Bœotia bred,
 Arcefilaus, Clonius, and Prothœnor led.

The necessities of rhyme, and a desire of infusing animation into what some would call a heavy catalogue of names, impelled our poet to various insertions of epithets, and additions of minute circumstances, in deviation from his original; in which he displays inimitable dexterity and taste: but the reader would be wearied and disgusted by a perpetual enumeration of these trivial diversities; no less than by the notice of some omissions of proper names throughout the catalogue.

The consummate skill, however, and taste, and ingenuity of our unrivalled translator, are no where more conspicuous than in his execution of this arduous portion of his author.

Heleon and Hylè, which the springs o'erflow;
 And Medeon lofty, and Ocalea low;
 Or in the meads of Haliartus stray,
 Or Thespia sacred to the God of Day.

Onchestus, Neptune's celebrated groves; 600
 Copæ, and Thisbè, fam'd for silver doves,
 For Flocks Erythræ, Gliffa for the vine;
 Platea green, and Nisa the divine.

And they whom Thebè's well-built walls enclose,
 Where Mydè, Eutresis, Coronè rose; 605
 And Arnè rich, with purple harvests crown'd;
 And Anthedon, Bœotia's utmost bound.

Full fifty ships they send, and each conveys,
 Twice sixty warriors thro' the foaming seas.

To these succeed Aspledon's martial train, 610
 Who plow the spacious Orchomenian plain.

Two valiant brothers rule the undaunted throng,
 Iälmen and Afcalphus the strong:

Sons of Aftyochè, the heav'nly fair,

Whose virgin charms subdu'd the God of War:

Ver. 598.] His original has, "the *grassy* Aleartus;" but Dacier, "les *prairies* d' Aliarte."

Ver. 606.] Homer says,

Who dwelt at Arne, plentiful in vines:

but Ogilby has,

Who Arne held, where *purple grapes* abound.

(In Actor's court as she retir'd to rest, 616
 The strength of Mars the blushing maid comprest)
 Their troops in thirty fable vessels sweep
 With equal oars, the hoarse-resounding deep.

The Phocians next in forty barks repair, 620
 Epistrophus and Schedius head the war.
 From those rich regions where Cephifus leads
 His silver current thro' the flow'ry meads;
 From Panopæa, Chrysa the divine,
 Where Anemoria's stately turrets shine, 625
 Where Pytho, Daulis, Cyparissus stood,
 And fair Lilæa views the rising flood.
 These rang'd in order on the floating tide,
 Close, on the left, the bold Bœotians side.

Fierce Ajax led the Locrian squadrons on, 630
 Ajax the less, Oïleus' valiant son;

Ver. 616.] Our translator follows Chapman here, who is very faithful:

*The bashfull maide, as she went up, into the higher roome,
 The warre-god secretly comprest.*

Ver. 618.] Thus Dryden, *Æn.* x. 296.

————— A hundred *sweep*,
With stretching oars, at once the glassy deep.

Ver. 622.] This enchanting couplet was formed from a single verse of his author;

Who dwelt fast by Cephifus, stream divine!

Ver. 630.] Our poet here, by some unintentional omission, I should think, has entirely lost sight of Homer. Thus Travers with more fidelity:

Skill'd to direct the flying dart aright;
 Swift in pursuit, and active in the fight.
 Him, as their chief, the chosen troops attend,
 Which Bessa, Thronus, and rich Cynos send: 635
 Opus, Calliarus, and Scarphe's bands;
 And those who dwell where pleasing Augia stands
 And where Boägrius floats the lowly lands,
 Or in fair Tarphe's sylvan seats reside;
 In forty vessels cut the yielding tide. 640

Eubœa next her martial sons prepares,
 And sends the brave Abantes to the wars:
 Breathing revenge, in arms they take their way
 From Chalcis' walls, and strong Eretria;
 Th' Isteian fields for gen'rous vines renown'd,
 The fair Caristos, and the Styrian ground; 645
 Where Dios from her tow'rs o'erlooks the plain,
 And high Cerinthus views the neighb'ring main.
 Down their broad shoulders falls a length of hair;
 Their hands dismiss not the long lance in air;

The troops of Locris were by Ajax led;
 He, from whose arm the lance unerring fled;
 He, whom the queen of great Oïleus bore;
 Who on his breast the linen corslet wore:
 In stature less, but swifter in the field,
 Than him who bears the Telamonian shield.

Ver. 649. *Down their broad shoulders, &c.*] The Greek has it
 ὀπίθεν κομώοντες, *à tergo comantes*. It was the custom of these people
 to shave the fore-part of their heads, which they did that their
 enemies might not take the advantage of seizing them by the hair:
 the hinder-part they let grow, as a valiant race that would never

But with portended spears in fighting fields, 651
 Pierce the tough cors'lets and the brazen shields.
 Twice twenty ships transport the warlike bands,
 Which bold Elphenor, fierce in arms, commands.

turn their backs. Their manner of fighting was hand to hand, without quitting their javelins (in the manner of our pike-men). Plutarch tells us this in the life of Theseus, and cites, to strengthen the authority of Homer, some verses of Archilochus to the same effect. Eobanus Hessus, who translated Homer into Latin verse, was therefore mistaken in his version of this passage :

“ Præcipuè jaculatores, hastamque periti

“ Vibrare, & longis contingere pectora telis.”

P.

Our poet was here betrayed into a mistaken censure of this Latin translator, who has acquitted himself with much dexterity, by a misapprehension of the word *vibrare*. That it did not necessarily convey the sense of *quitting* their javelins, a single passage of Virgil is sufficient to prove, in which he is speaking of the *serpents*, that destroyed Laocoon and his children : *Æn. ii. 211.*

Sibila lambabant linguis vibrantibus ora.

The proper account of this matter, I presume, is this. It appears from abundant testimony of ancient authors, that it was the practise not only of all uncivilized nations, as at this day, but of the Greeks also, to join battle with a *shout*, with a view of encouraging themselves, and intimidating the enemy : (see *Æschylus sept. Theb. ver. 276.*) Hence, by a customary transition of philology to a direct signification from an accidental concomitant, the word *son* was substituted for the *battle* itself, which it only preceded and served to introduce. Hence too a town, that was taken, or an army, that was defeated, on the first assault, was said to be taken or defeated *avτοβοη* at the *very shout* of battle. See Hesychius, and the scholiast on Thucydides, ii. sect. 81. Livy thus expresses the notion, i. 11. *Fusi igitur primo impetu et clamore hostes.*

Ver. 652.] Homer makes no mention of the *shields*; which were supplied by Dacier : “ Ils percent les boucliers et les cuirasses.”

Full fifty more from Athens stem the main,
Led by Menestheus thro' the liquid plain, 656
(Athens the fair, where great Erectheus sway'd,
That ow'd his nurture to the blue-ey'd maid,
But from the teeming furrow took his birth,
The mighty offspring of the foodful earth. 660
Him Pallas plac'd amidst her wealthy fane,
Ador'd with sacrifice and oxen slain;
Where as the years revolve, her altars blaze,
And all the tribes resound the Goddess' praise)
No chief like thee, Menestheus! Greece could
yield, 665
To marshal armies in the dusty field,
Th' extended wings of battle to display,
Or close th' embody'd host in firm array.
Nestor alone, improv'd by length of days,
For martial conduct bore an equal praise. 670
With these appear the Salaminian bands,
Whom the gigantic Telamon commands;
In twelve black ships to Troy they steer their
course,
And with the great Athenians join their force.

Ver. 661.] Chapman, consulted by our poet, expresses his author neatly, without omission or prolixity:

*Him Pallas plac't in her rich fane, and everie ended yeare,
Of buls and lambes, th' Athenian youths, please him with
off'rings there,*

Next move to war the gen'rous Argive train,
 From high Trœzenè, and Mafeta's plain, 676
 And fair Ægina circled by the main:
 Whom strong Tyrinthè's lofty walls furround,
 And Epidaure with viny harvests crown'd:
 And where fair Asinen and Hermion show 680
 Their cliffs above, and ample bay below.
 These by the brave Euryalus were led,
 Great Sthenelus, and greater Diomed,
 But chief Tydides bore the sov'reign sway;
 In fourscore barks they plow the watry way. 685
 The proud Mycenè arms her martial pow'rs,
 Cleonè, Corinth, with imperial tow'rs,
 Fair Aræthyrea, Ornia's fruitful plain,
 And Ægion, and Adrastus' ancient reign;
 And those who dwell along the sandy shore, 690
 And where Pellenè yields her fleecy store,

Ver. 676.] I find no traces of HIGH *Troezenè* in Homer of any of the translators, except in Arthur Hall's version from the French of M. Hougues Salel; which runs thus:

Hermiones, and Asines, Troëzene HIGH in shore.

Ver. 682.] Thus Ogilby:

Those of Ægina and Mafet *were led*
 By Tydeus' offspring, warlike *Diomed*.

Ver. 688.] Thus Chapman:

Aræthiræa's lovely seate, and in Ornia's *plaine*,
 And Sicyona, where at first, did king Adrastus *raigne*.

Where Helicè and Hyperefia lie,
 And Gonoëssa's spires salute the sky.
 Great Agamemnon rules the num'rous band,
 A hundred vessels in long order stand, 695
 And crouded nations wait his dread command.
 High on the deck the king of men appears,
 And his refulgent arms in triumph wears;
 Proud of his host, unrival'd in his reign,
 In silent pomp he moves along the main. 700
 His brother follows, and to vengeance warms
 The hardy Spartans, exercis'd in arms:
 Phares and Bryfia's valiant troops, and those
 Whom Lacedæmon's lofty hills inclose:
 Or Messe's tow'rs for silver doves renown'd, 705
 Amyclæ, Laäs, Augia's happy ground,

Ver. 697.] He misrepresents the original in this place. Homer is not speaking of his appearance in his ship, but as he appeared on the present occasion at the head of his people prepared for battle. Thus Travers:

Wide thro' the deep his hundred ships were row'd;
 In gleaming brass the chief imperial glow'd;
 His pow'r to him the sov'reign glory brings,
 And realms in arms attest the king of kings.

The following attempt is literal, and commensurate with the Greek:

He, clad in glittering brass, exulting went
 In proud distinction of superiour worth
 O'er all the heroes, and more numerous troops.

But our poet cast a look on Chapman's version:

_____ and he *in triumph* then
 Put on *his* most *resplendent* armes.

And those whom Oetylos' low walls contain,
 And Helos, on the margin of the main:
 These, o'er the bending ocean, Helen's cause,
 In sixty ships with Menelaüs draws: 710
 Eager and loud from man to man he flies,
 Revenge and fury flaming in his eyes;

Ver. 711. *Eager and loud from man to man he flies.*] The figure Menelaus makes in this place is remarkably distinguished from the rest, and sufficient to shew his concern in the war was personal, while the others acted only for interest or glory in general. No leader in all the list is represented thus eager and passionate; he is louder than them all in his exhortations; more active in running among the troops; and inspirited with the thoughts of revenge, which he still encreases with the secret imagination of Helen's repentance. This behaviour is finely imagined.

The epithet *βὸν ἄγαλός*, which is applied in this and other places to Menelaus, and which literally signifies *loud-voiced*, is made by the commentators to mean *valiant*, and translated *bello strenuus*. The reason given by Eustathius is, that a loud voice is a mark of strength, the usual effect of fear being to cut short the respiration. I own this seems to be forced, and rather believe it was one of those kind of surnames given from some distinguishing quality of the person (as that of a loud voice might belong to Menelaus) which Mons. Boileau mentions in his ninth reflection upon Longinus; in the same manner as some of our kings were called *Edward Long-shanks*, *William Rufus*, &c. But however it be, the epithet taken in the literal sense has a beauty in this verse from the circumstance Menelaus is described in, which determined the translator to use it. P.

This passage, tho' wanting in strict fidelity, is replete with poetical animation. Travers has successfully trod in the steps of his predecessor:

These, Menelaus brought with furious joy
 Rank'd by themselves in sixty ships to Troy:
 Fierce in his wrath for Helen's injur'd charms,
 Roy'd the bold warrior thro' the field of arms:

While vainly fond, in fancy oft he hears
The fair-one's grief, and sees her falling tears.

In ninety sail, from Pylos' sandy coast, 715
Nestor the sage conducts his chosen host:
From Amphigenia's ever-fruitful land;
Where Æpy high, and little Pteleon stand;
Where beauteous Arenè her structures shows,
And Thryon's walls Alpheus' streams inclose: 720
And Dorion, fam'd for 'Thamyris' disgrace,
Superiour once of all the tuneful race,

Loud in complaints for all her tears of woe;
And urg'd the brave avengers on the foe.

The original runs literally thus:

He in the midst, with ardent vigour bold,
Exhorts to war, for much he wisht revenge
For Helen's sorrows and uneasy thoughts.

Ver. 715.] This epithet, not in Homer, he might borrow
from Chapman:

Who dwelt in *Pylos sandie soyle*, and *Arene the faire*.

Ver. 721.] The poetry of this description is exquisite indeed;
but it's variation from the original may be known by the following
attempt; all unworthy, but with this view, of appearing in com-
petition with strains of such unrivalled excellence.

Where Thracian 'Thamyris the Muses met
Returning from Oechalian Eurytus,
And stopt his tuneful voice. The daughters he
Boastful defied of Ægis-bearing Jove,
Who smote the bard with blindness; and at once
Oblivion seiz'd his lyre and song divine.

Chapman, I think, is pleasing:

He coming from Eurytus' court, the wise Oechalian king;
Because he proudly durst affirme, he could more sweetly sing.

'Till vain of mortals' empty praise, he strove
 To match the feed of cloud-compelling Jove!
 Too daring bard! whose unsuccessful pride 725
 Th' immortal Muses in their art defy'd.
 Th' avenging Muses of the light of day
 Depriv'd his eyes, and snatch'd his voice away;
 No more his heav'nly voice was heard to sing,
 His hand no more awak'd the silver string. 730

Where under high Cyllenè, crown'd with wood,
 The shaded tomb of old Æpytus stood;
 From Ripè, Stratie, Tegea's bordering towns,
 The Phenean fields, and Orchomenian downs,
 Where the fat herds in plenteous pasture rove;
 And Stymphelus with her furrounding grove, 736
 Parrhasia, on her snowy cliffs reclin'd,
 And high Enispè shook by wintry wind,

Then that Pyerean race of Jove; who (angrie with his vant)
 Bereft his eye-sight, and his song that did the eare enchant;
 And of his skill to touch his harpe, disfurnished his hand.

And it may be observed with what judgement these little histories
 are introduced to relieve the tediousness of narrative, and to enrich
 a solitary desert of *proper names* with the refreshments of poetic
 beauty.

Ver. 732.] He took this vicious accent from Ogilby, who
 otherwise is not amiss:

Arcadians, who from high Cyllene come,
 Those valiant nations near Æpytus' tomb—.

I will presume on this correction of our poet:

Arcadia's sons, where high Cyllene's brow
 Grooms o'er the tomb of Æpytus below—.

And fair Mantinea's ever-pleasing site;
 In sixty sail th' Arcadian bands unite. 740
 Bold Agapenor, glorious at their head,
 (Ancæus' son) the mighty squadron led.
 Their ships, supply'd by Agamemnon's care,
 Thro' roaring seas the wond'ring warriors bear;
 The first to battle on th' appointed plain, 745
 But new to all the dangers of the main.

Those, where fair Elis and Buprasium join;
 Whom Hyrmin, here, and Myrsinus confine,
 And bounded there, where o'er the valleys rose
 Th' Olenian rock; and where Alifium flows; 750
 Beneath four chiefs (a num'rous army) came:
 The strength and glory of th' Epean name.

Ver. 738.] He had preserved *grammar* and conformity to his author by writing,

And high Enispè *shaken* by the wind.

Mr. Travers has rendered the verse extremely well:

Where bleak Enispe feels the tempest's pow'r.

Ver. 746. *New to all the dangers of the main.*] The Arcadians being an inland people were unskilled in navigation, for which reason Agamemnon furnished them with shipping. From hence, and from the last line of the description of the sceptre, where he is said to preside over *many islands*, Thucydides takes occasion to observe that the power of Agamemnon was superiour to the rest of the princes of Greece, on account of his naval forces, which had rendered him master of the sea. Thucyd. lib. 1. P.

Ver. 750.] Whence our poet derived his notion of Alifium I do not find. From Il. A. ver. 756. and a scholiast, it should seem to mean a *bill*, or a city thus situated: Strabo, however, in his eighth book informs us, that some took it for a *river*.

In sep'rate squadrons these their train divide,
 Each leads ten vessels thro' the yielding tide.
 One was Amphimachus, and 'Thalpius one; 755
 (Eurytus' this, and that Teätus' son)
 Diores sprung from Amarynceus' line;
 And great Polyxenus, of force divine.

But those who view fair Elis o'er the seas
 From the blest Islands of th' Echinades, 760
 In forty vessels under Meges move,
 Begot by Phyleus the belov'd of Jove.
 To strong Dulichium from his fire he fled,
 And thence to Troy his hardy warriors led.

Ulysses follow'd thro' the watry road, 765
 A chief, in wisdom equal to a God.
 With those whom Cephalenia's isle inclos'd,
 Or till their fields along the coast oppos'd ;

Ver. 756.] The wrong quantities, which he assigns to the *proper names* in this and many other places, may be regarded as evident proofs of our poet's slender knowledge, or rather total ignorance, of the language of his author. He might follow Ogilby in this instance:

Cteatus one, Eurytus th' other bred.

Ver. 758.] After this our poet drops a verse, thus accurately exhibited by Mr. Cowper :

Son of Agasthenes, Augeia's son.

Ver. 759.] These are the rhymes also of Ogilby :

Who left Dulichium and th' Echinades,
 Isles against Elis girt with briny seas.

Ver. 768.] Ogilby, more exactly :

And Epire, and th' opposed continent.

Or where fair Ithaca o'erlooks the floods,
 Where high Neritos shakes his waving woods,
 Where Ægilipa's rugged sides are seen, 771
 Crocylia rocky, and Zacynthus green,
 These in twelve galleys with vermillion prores,
 Beneath his conduct fought the Phrygian shores.

Thoas came next, Andræmon's valiant son, 775
 From Pleuron's walls, and chalky Calydon,
 And rough Pylènè, and th' Olenian steep,
 And Chalcis beaten by the rolling deep.
 He led the warriors from th' Ætolian shore,
 For now the sons of Oeneus were no more! 780
 The glories of the mighty race were fled!
 Oeneus himself, and Meleager dead!
 To Thoas' care now trust the martial train,
 His forty vessels follow thro' the main.

Next eighty barks the Cretan king commands,
 Of Gnoffus, Lyctus, and Gortyna's bands, 786

Ver. 770.] He seems to have taken these dreadful pronunciations of the *proper names* in this place from Chapman:

Woody Neritus, and the men of wet Crocilia,
 Sharp Ægilippa, Samos' isle.

Ver. 776.] Travers has managed the names in this passage with considerable dexterity:

He from th' Olenian fields the squadron led,
 With those whom Pleuron and Pylene bred;
 Where Chalcis views the ocean's stormy bound,
 And Calydon's white rocks o'er shade the ground.

Ver. 785.] This division, concerning Idomeneus and his Cretans, is finished in the truest style of poetry, and transcends all praise.

And those who dwell where Rhytion's domes
arise,

Or white Lycaſtus glitters to the ſkies,
Or where by Phæſtus ſilver Jardan runs;
Crete's hundred cities pour forth all her ſons.

Theſe march'd, Idomeneus, beneath thy care, 791
And Merion, dreadful as the God of war.

Tlepolemus, the ſon of Hercules,
Led nine ſwift veſſels thro' the foamy ſeas;
From Rhodes with everlaſting ſunſhine bright,
Jalyſſus, Lindus, and Camirus white. 796

His captive mother fierce Alcides bore,
From Ephyr's walls, and Selle's winding ſhore,
Where mighty towns in ruins ſpread the plain,
And ſaw their blooming warriours early ſlain.

The hero, when to manly years he grew, 801
Alcides' uncle, old Licymnius, flew;

For this, conſtrain'd to quit his native place,
And ſhun the vengeance of th' Herculean race,

Ver. 789.] This *ſilver Jardan* is a bold addition to his original; and where he found it, I am unable to diſcern. *Strabo* mentions a Græcian river of this name, but I have not diſcovered one in Crete.

Ver. 795.] This attribute of Rhodes is unauthoriſed by the original; and I ſuſpect our tranſlator to have derived his ſupplies from ſome ſources, which I have not been able to trace. His Engliſh predeceſſors have nothing like it. Otherwiſe this ſtory of Tlepolemus is tranſlated with an elegance, which it is ſcarcely poſſible for poetry to exceed, which no original could ſurpaſs, and which Pope only could attain.

A fleet he built, and with a num'rous train, 805
 Of willing exiles, wander'd o'er the main;
 Where many seas, and many suff'rings past,
 On happy Rhodes the chief arriv'd at last:
 There in three tribes divides his native band,
 And rules them peaceful in a foreign land; 810
 Encreas'd and prosper'd in their new abodes,
 By mighty Jove, the fire of men and Gods;
 With joy they saw the growing empire rise,
 And show'rs of wealth descending from the skies.

Ver. 807.] These *eight* lines are the representatives of *four* in his original; of which, to demonstrate the fertile fancy of our poet and the magnificent emblazonry of his pencil to the English reader, I will venture a literal translation:

To Rhodes our exile came, vast woes endur'd:
 There in three tribes they dwelt, belov'd by Jove,
 Jove, universal king! who stream'd profuse
 His stores of wealth upon them from the skies.

The verse before us, however, though eminently beautiful and melodious, offends against the strict propriety of chaste and dignified composition, in a *figurative* application of the word *past* to *sufferings*, and in a *literal* to *seas*: see my note on the Rape of the Lock, iii. 8. No substitution, but such as Pope himself could have supplied, can be expected to satisfy the reader; and the following is the best in my power:

Where, many woes endur'd and waters past—.

Ver. 814.] Pindar has emulated the great father of poets in this beautiful figure of the original: Ol. vii. 63. which is a palpable imitation of the passage before us.

———— ενθα ποτε
 βρεχε θεων βασιλευς ο μινγας
 χρυσαις νιφαδεσσι πολιν.

So Chaucer with a happy boldness in his prologue, ver. 347:

Three ships with Nireus fought the Trojan
shore, 815

Nireus, whom Aglæe to Charopus bore,
Nireus, in faultless shape and blooming grace,
The loveliest youth of all the Grecian race;
Pelides only match'd his early charms;
But few his troops, and small his strength in arms.

Next thirty galleys cleave the liquid plain, 821
Of those Calydnæ's sea-girt isles contain;

Of fishe and fleshe, and that so plenteouse,
It *snewid* in his house of mete and drinke:

where Urry opportunely quotes the following line from Gower:

He was with gestis all *besnewid*.

The figurative use of *rain* is much more common in poetry see my note on Lucretius, ii. 626. just published.

Ver. 815. *Three ships with Nireus.*] This leader is nowhere mentioned but in these lines, and is an exception to the observation of Macrobius, that all the persons of the catalogue make their appearance afterwards in the poem. Homer himself gives us the reason, because Nireus had but a small share of worth and valour; his quality only gave him a privilege to be named among men. The poet has caused him to be remembered no less than Achilles or Ulysses, but yet in no better manner than he deserved, whose only qualification was his beauty: 'tis by a bare repetition of his name three times, which just leaves some impression of him on the mind of the reader. Many others, of as trivial memory as Nireus, have been preserved by poets from oblivion; but few poets have ever done this favour to want of merit, with so much judgment. Demetrius Phalereus *περί ἑρμηνείας*, sect. 61. takes notice of this beautiful repetition, which in a just deference to so delicate a critick is here preserved in the translation. P.

Ver. 822.] He should have written,

Of those Calydnæ's sea-girt *lands* contain.

With them the youth of Nifyrus repair,
 Cafus the strong, and Crapathus the fair;
 Cos, where Eurypylus possesseth the sway, 825
 'Till great Alcides made the realms obey:
 These Antiphus and bold Phidippus bring,
 Sprung from the God by Theffalus the king.

Now, Muse, recount Pelasgic Argos' pow'rs,
 From Alos, Alopè, and Trechin's tow'rs; 830
 From Phthia's spacious vales; and Hella, blest
 With female beauty far beyond the rest.
 Full fifty ships beneath Achilles' care,
 Th' Achaians, Myrmidons, Hellenians bear;
 Theffalians all, tho' various in their name; 835
 The same their nation, and their chief the
 same.

But now inglorious, stretch'd along the shore,
 They hear the brazen voice of war no more;

Ver. 824.] One might suppose our poet mistook these for the names of *men*, instead of *places*: and ver. 826. is entirely his own invention.

Ver. 831.] A very illiterate mistake for Hellas; a name transferred afterwards not unfrequently to all Greece.

Ver. 835.] A beautiful couplet, but unauthorised by his original.

Ver. 838.] Propriety and his author required rather:

They *heed* the brazen voice of war no more.

No more the foe they face in dire array:
 Close in his fleet the angry leader lay; 840
 Since fair Briseïs from his arms was torn,
 The noblest spoil from sack'd Lyrnessus borne.
 Then, when the chief the Theban walls o'er-
 threw,

And the bold sons of great Evenus flew. 844
 There mourn'd Achilles, plung'd in depth of care,
 But soon to rise in slaughter, blood, and war.

To these the youth of Phylacè succeed,
 Itona, famous for her fleecy breed,
 And grassy Pteleon deck'd with cheerful greens,
 The bow'rs of Ceres, and the sylvan scenes, 850
 Sweet Pyrrhæus, with blooming flourets crown'd,
 And Antron's watry dens, and cavern'd ground.
 These own'd as chief Protefilas the brave,
 Who now lay silent in the gloomy grave:
 The first who boldly touch'd the Trojan shore,
 And dy'd a Phrygian lance with Grecian gore; 856

Ver. 840.] He might easily have avoided the unpleasantness of an open vowel thus:

Close in his fleet *their* angry leader lay:

and so it stands, I see, in the first edition. The present reading, therefore, is probably an error of the press.

Ver. 846.] I should prefer,

But soon to rise in *vengeance*, blood, and war.

Ver. 855.] Our translator is much too brief in this passage. The truth was, that the simplicity of Homer's narrative did not

There lies, far distant from his native plain;
 Unfinish'd, his proud palaces remain,
 And his sad consort beats her breast in vain. }
 His troops in forty ships Podarces led, 860
 Iphiclus' son, and brother to the dead;
 Nor he unworthy to command the host;
 Yet still they mourn'd their ancient leader lost.

The men who Glaphyra's fair soil partake,
 Where hills encircle Bæbe's lowly lake, 865

suit the majesty of Pope's numbers. Mr. Cowper, however, has done justice upon the whole, to his original, with no common merit; whom I shall stay to quote on this occasion:

First he died
 Of all the Greeks: for, as he leap'd to land
 Foremost by far, a Dardan struck him dead.
 Nor had his troops, though filled with deep regret,
 No leader: them Podarces led, a chief
 Like Mars in battle, brother of the slain,
 But younger born, and from Iphiclus sprung,
 Who sprang from Phylacus the rich in flocks:
 But him Protefilaüs, as in years,
 So also in desert of arms excell'd,
 Heroic; whom his host, although they saw
 Phylarces at their head, still justly mourn'd.

Ver. 860.] Thus Ogilby:

These had a captain, though this prince was *dead*,
 Them Mars his valiant branch Podarces *led*.

Ver. 864.] The phrase *to partake a soil*, and that in ver. 871. *the beauteous kind*, are ignominious accommodations to the rhyme, unworthy of the consummate skill of Pope. Alcestè too for Alcestis is awkward and unnecessary: but it might be taken from Dacier.

Where Phære hears the neighb'ring waters fall,
 Or proud Iölcus lifts her airy wall,
 In ten black ships embark'd for Ilion's shore,
 With bold Eumelus, whom Alcestè bore:
 All Pelias' race Alcestè far outshin'd, 870
 The grace and glory of the beauteous kind.

The troops Methonè, or Thaumacia yields,
 Olizon's rocks, or Melibæa's fields,
 With Philoctetes fail'd, whose matchless art, 874
 From the tough bow directs the feather'd dart.
 Sev'n were his ships; each vessel fifty row,
 Skill'd in his science of the dart and bow.
 But he lay raging on the Lemnian ground,
 A pois'nous Hydra gave the burning wound ;

Ver. 866.] This thought is from the translator, and furnishes a fine specimen of true poetical conception. Travers is neat and accurate, but he profited by Ogilby. Thus the former:

The bands of Pheræ, and the warlike men
 Born on the verge of Bœbe's wat'ry fen,
 Where Glaphyra's wide field extended lies,
 And the high walls of strong Ioleus rise —.

Ver. 871. *The grace and glory of the beauteous kind.*] He gives Alcestis this elogy of the glory of her sex, for her conjugal piety, who died to preserve the life of her husband Admetus. Euripides has a tragedy on this subject, which abounds in the most masterly strokes of tenderness: in particular the first act, which contains the description of her preparation for death, and of her behaviour in it, can never be enough admired. P.

Ver. 877.] He might easily have adhered to his original:
 Skill'd in *their leader's* science of the bow.

Ver. 878.] Travers' translation, with a little chastisement, would be made very faithful, which Pope's is not: as thus:

There groan'd the chief in agonizing pain, 880
Whom Greece at length shall wish, nor wish
in vain.

His forces Medon led from Lemnos' shore,
Oïleus' son, whom beauteous Rhena bore.

Th' Oechalian race, in those high tow'rs
contain'd, 884

Where once Eurytus in proud triumph reign'd,
Or where her humbler turrets Tricca rears,
Or where Ithomè, rough with rocks, appears;
In thirty fail the sparkling waves divide,
Which Podalirius and Machaon guide.

To these his skill their * parent-God imparts, 890
Divine professors of the healing arts.

Rack'd lay the chief with dire excess of pain,
By Greece forsaken, on the Lemnian plain.

Ver. 886.] A charming couplet for this plain verse of his author:

Who dwelt in Tricca and Ithome's hills.

Indeed the catalogues of Homer and Virgil, and particularly the latter, as of Milton also, are to me the most pleasing portions of their unrivalled performances.

Ver. 889.] These three delightful verses were framed from two in the Greek, which I thus render word for word:

Them Podalirius and Machaon led,
Two good physicians, Æsculapius' sons.

A couplet of Maynwaring in the former book resembles the concluding lines of this paragraph:

Why dost thou still ungrateful truths impart,
Thou worst professor of the boding art?

* Æsculapius.

The bold Ormenian and Afterian bands
 In forty barks Eurypylus commands,
 Where Titan hides his hoary head in snow,
 And where Hyperia's silver fountains flow. 895
 Thy troops, Argissa, Polypœtes leads,
 And Eleon, shelter'd by Olympus' shades,
 Gyrtonè's warriors; and where Orthè lies,
 And Oleösson's chalky cliffs arise.
 Sprung from Pirithous of immortal race, 900
 The fruit of fair Hippodamè's embrace,
 (That day, when hurl'd from Pelion's cloudy
 head,
 To distant dens the shaggy Centaurs fled)

Ver. 897.] A vicious orthography for Elone, and an imperfect rhyme: nor has Homer one word about Olympus, though this mountain was indeed situated in this neighbourhood. It seems to me, that the difficulty of bringing such a collection of names into verse without an uniformity, that must have wearied and disgusted the reader, induced him to consult a translation of Strabo, or some other ancient geographer for circumstances, which would assist the poetry and adorn the subject. But see our poet's note on ver. 1012. of this book, and especially his "Observations on the "Catalogue."

Ver. 899.] Homer says, "the *white* city Oloösson;" but Chapman,

And *chalkie* Oloöffine.

Again, in verse 894. above, Homer has "the *white* tops of Titanus;" but Chapman,

The *snowy* tops of Titanus:

so that our poet was guided by his predecessors on these occasions.

With Polypœtes join'd in equal fway
Leonteus leads, and forty ships obey. 905

In twenty fail the bold Perrhæbians came
From Cyphus, Guneus was their leader's name.
With these the Enians join'd, and those who
freeze,

Where cold Dodona lifts her holy trees;
Or where the pleasing Titaresius glides, 910
And into Peneus rolls his easy tides;
Yet o'er the silver surface pure they flow,
The sacred stream unmix'd with streams below.

Ver. 904.] A verse of the original is neglected. Mr. Cowper is perfectly faithful, and as elegant as the passage would allow.

————— With him was join'd
Leonteus, dauntless warrior, from the bold
Coronus sprung, who Cæneus call'd his fire.

Ver. 906. *In twenty ships the bold Perrhæbians came.*] I cannot tell whether it be worth observing that, except Ogilby, I have not met with one translator who has exactly preserved the number of the ships. Chapman puts eighteen under Eumelus instead of eleven: Hobbes but twenty under Ascalaphus and Ialmen instead of thirty, and but thirty under Menelaus instead of sixty: Valterie (the former French translator) has given Agapenor forty for sixty, and Nestor forty for ninety: Madam Dacier gives Nestor but eighty. I must confess this translation not to have been quite so exact as Ogilby's, having cut off one from the number of Eumelus's ships, and two from those of Guneus: *eleven* and *two* and *twenty* would sound but oddly in English verse, and a poem contracts a littleness by insisting on such trivial niceties. P.

This is a wrong judgement, Ogilby is not contemptible: and the subject did not admit of elevation.

Guneus from Cyphus *two and twenty* led.

Ver. 912.] Easy alterations would make him true to his author:

Sacred and awful! From the dark abodes 915
 Styx pours them forth, the dreadful oath of
 Gods!

Last under Prothous the Magnesians stood,
 Prothous the swift, of old Tenthredon's blood;
 Who dwell where Pelion, crown'd with piny
 boughs,
 Obscures the glade, and nods his shaggy brows;
 Or where thro' flow'ry Tempè Peneus stray'd, 920
 (The region stretch'd beneath his mighty shade)

Yet o'er the silver surface pure they flow,
 Like oil; nor mingle with the streams below.

Or thus:

*Pure tides! that o'er the silver surface flow,
 Like oil, unmingled with the stream below.*

And he should have written, "Styx pours *it* forth," confining the assertion to Titaresius: but the use of the *pronoun*, which refers to *tides* makes the passage ambiguous, or rather perverts it's meaning.

Ver. 916.] That the reader, at the conclusion of this catalogue, may perceive by an additional proof the consummate powers of our illustrious translator, I will render literally the *three* verses of his author, which are the ground-work of the following *six*:

Prothous, Tenthredon's son, swift Prothous, led
 Magnesia's troops; whose mansions, circling, view
 Peneüs' stream, and Pelion's waving trees.

Ver. 918.] This description is, however, too diffuse for his original. Thus Travers:

Around the fields, where Peneus rolls his flood,
 And cloudy Pelion spreads his waving wood:
 Twice twenty ships obey'd his high commands.
 Such were the chiefs, and such the Grecian bands.

In forty fable barks they stemm'd the main;
Such were the chiefs, and such the Grecian train.

Say next, O Muse! of all Achaia breeds, 924
Who bravest fought, or rein'd the noblest steeds?
Eumelus' mares were foremost in the chace,
As eagles fleet, and of Pheretian race;
Bred where Pieria's fruitful fountains flow,
And train'd by him who bears the silver bow. 929
Fierce in the fight their nostrils breath'd a flame,
Their height, their colour, and their age the same;

Ver. 925. *Or rein'd the noblest steeds.*] This coupling together the men and horses seems odd enough; but Homer every where treats these noble animals with remarkable regard. We need not wonder at this enquiry, *which were the best horses?* from him, who makes his horses of heavenly extraction as well as his heroes; who makes his warriors address them with speeches, and excite them by all those motives which affect a human breast; who describes them shedding tears of sorrow, and even capable of voice and prophecy: in most of which points Virgil has not scrupled to imitate him. P.

Besides, the management of the horse was characteristic of gallantry and spirit among the ancients; an achievement, that reflected lustre on their heroes. Hence, in Homer, the epithet of *tamer of the steed* is employed as highly honourable even to his most distinguished warriors.

Ver. 930.] This is a mere addition, not to be commended. Chapman is faithful, nor inelegant:

Swift of their feet, as birds of wings; both of one hair
did shine,

Both of an age, both of a height, as measur'd by a line.

Virgil, I believe, is the father of this bold conception in his third Georgic, ver. 85.

Collectumque fremens volvit sub naribus ignem;

O'er fields of death they whirl the rapid car,
 And break the ranks, and thunder thro' the war.
 Ajax in arms the first renown acquir'd,
 While stern Achilles in his wrath retir'd: 935
 (His was the strength that mortal might exceeds,
 And his, th' unrival'd race of heav'nly steeds)
 But Thetis' son now shines in arms no more;
 His troops, neglected on the sandy shore,

as, I have shewn, that verse ought to be read:

His neighing nostrils roll collected fire:
 and so again *Æn.* vii. 281.

Ver. 938.] Travers more faithfully:

But he for Greece no longer wav'd the sword,
 Fierce in his wrath against her haughty lord.

Ver. 939. *His troops, &c.*] The image in these lines of the amusements of the Myrmidons, while Achilles detained them from the fight, has an exquisite propriety in it. Though they are not in action, their very diversions are military, and a kind of exercise of arms. The covered chariots and feeding horses, make a natural part of the picture; and nothing is finer than the manly concern of the captains, who as they are supposed more sensible of glory than the soldiers, take no share in their diversions, but wander sorrowfully round the camp, and lament their being kept from the battle. This difference betwixt the soldiers and the leaders (as Dacier observes) is a decorum of the highest beauty. Milton has admirably imitated this in the description he gives in his second book of the diversions of the angels during the absence of Lucifer:

Part on the plain, or in the air sublime
 Upon the wing, or in swift race contend;
 Part curb their fiery steeds, or shun the goal
 With rapid wheels, or fronted brigades form.

But how nobly and judiciously has he raised the image, in proportion to the nature of those more exalted beings, in that which follows:

In empty air their sportive jav'lines throw, 940
 Or whirl the disk, or bend an idle bow:
 Unstain'd with blood his cover'd chariots stand;
 Th' immortal courfers graze along the strand;
 But the brave chiefs th' inglorious life deplor'd,
 And wand'ring o'er the camp, requir'd their lord.

Now, like a deluge, cov'ring all around, 946
 The shining armies sweep along the ground;
 Swift as a flood of fire, when storms arise,
 Floats the wide field, and blazes to the skies.

Others, with vast Typhoean rage more fell,
 Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air
 In whirlwind; Hell scarce holds the wild uproar. P.

Ver. 943.] The original is unhappily abbreviated here. The following is a literal translation:

The courfers by their several chariots stood,
 And lotus with the marsh-bred parsley browz'd.

Ver. 944.] This is the true sense of Homer:

Their lords were saunt'ring round, from battle far,
 But wisht some valiant chief to lead them there.

None of the translators seem to have understood the passage, except Barbin, who renders thus, but is miserably mistaken in the first sentence: "Les plus braves alloient jusqu' au camp, et estoient fachez de n' avoir point de chef, qui les menas au combat avec tous les autres Grecs." And yet, to do Ogilby justice, it may be doubted with respect to him. Let the reader judge:

Expecting long Æacides command
 And drew not forth though much they did desire.

Ver. 945.] This is scarcely sense. Travers is preferable:

But the brave leaders, wand'ring o'er the plain,
 Curs'd with regret their angry lord's disdain.

Earth groan'd beneath them ; as when angry
 Jove, 950
 Hurls down the forky lightning from above,
 On Arime when he the thunder throws,
 And fires Typhœus with redoubled blows,

Ver. 950. *As when angry Jove.*] The comparison preceding this, of a fire which runs through the corn and blazes to heaven, had exprest at once the dazling of their arms and the swiftness of their march. After which Homer having mentioned the sound of their feet, superadds another simile, which comprehends both the ideas of the brightness and the noise: for here (says Eustathius) the earth appears to *burn* and *groan* at the same time. Indeed the first of these similes is so full and so noble, that it scarce seemed possible to be exceeded by any image drawn from nature. But Homer to raise it yet higher, has gone into the *marvellous*, given a prodigious and supernatural prospect, and brought down Jupiter himself, arrayed in all his terrors, to discharge his lightnings and thunders on Typhœus. The poet breaks out into this description with an air of enthusiasm, which greatly heightens the image in general, while it seems to transport him beyond the limits of an exact comparison. And this daring manner is particular to our author above all the ancients, and to Milton above all the moderns. P.

Ver. 951.] The mention of *lightning* here, after the preceding simile to that purport, is unauthorised and incongruous. Another object is considered by the author in this place. The following attempt is faithful:

Earth groan'd beneath them, as when thundering Jove,
 Enrag'd, in Arime with lash of fire
 Strikes on Typhœus' subterranean bed:
 Beneath their trampling feet thus groan'd the ground,
 As in swift march they scour'd across the plain.

Ver. 952.] Our poet is too diffuse in the former part of this description, and in the latter confused. Travers has included all that the original required:

Where Typhon, prest beneath the burning load,
Still feels the fury of th' avenging God. 955

But various Iris, Jove's commands to bear,
Speeds on the wings of winds thro' liquid air;
In Priam's porch the Trojan chiefs she found,
The old consulting, and the youths around.

Polites' shape, the monarch's son, she chose, 960
Who from Æfetes' tomb observ'd the foes,
High on the mound; from whence in prospect
lay

The fields, the tents, the navy, and the bay.
In this dissembled form, she hastes to bring
Th' unwelcome message to the Phrygian king. 965

Cease to consult, the time for action calls,
War, horrid war, approaches to your walls!
Assembled armies oft' have I beheld;
But ne'er till now such numbers charg'd a field.

As when in Arimè heav'n's thund'ring fire
Fierce on Typhœus hurls the blast of fire:
So groan'd the earth, while o'er the dusty lands
Swift and impetuous drove the num'rous bands.

Ver. 962.] He would have been more faithful and grammatical
had he written:

Matchless in swiftness; whence in prospect lay —.

Ver. 964.] Thus Ogilby:

When Iris the alarm to Troy did *bring*,
And heavy tidings from heavn's mighty *king*.

Ver. 968.] *Beheld* is improper in the *participle*, and the follow-
ing line seems too pompous and artificial. Thus?

Thick as autumnal leaves or driving sand, 970
 The moving squadrons blacken all the strand.
 Thou, godlike Hector! all thy force employ,
 Assemble all th' united bands of Troy;

Full oft in fields embattled have I been,
 But ne'er till now such crouded hosts have seen.
 But thus Ogilby before him:

I have seen many drawn into the *field*,
 But such an army never yet *beheld*.

Ver. 970.] Homer says merely *like* leaves; but Chapman has,
 In number like *Autumnus leaves*:
 and Milton before our poet, Par. Lost. i. 302.

Thick as *autumnal leaves* that strow the brooks
 In Vallombrosa.

As Dryden, Æn. vi. 428.

Thick as the leaves in autumn strew the woods.

Ogilby is not amiss:

Thicker than falling leaves, or fleeting sands,
 Towards the city march their numerous bands.

Ver. 971.] Dryden, Æn. iv. 579.

————— The beach is cover'd o'er
 With Trojan bands that *blacken* all the shore:

and again, Æn. ix. 36.

The Trojans view the dusty cloud from far,
 And the *dark* menace of the distant war.
 Caicus from the rampire saw it rise,
Blackening the fields, and thickening thro' the skies.

As *State Poems*, vol. ii. p. 2.

The numerous tribes resort to see him land,
 Cover the beach, and *blacken all the strand*;

Our translator is very fond of this imagery, and often employs it through the Iliad.

Ver. 973.] The original is but little seen in this place. Let the reader accept the following attempt at fidelity:

In just array let ev'ry leader call 974
 The foreign troops: this day demands them all.
 The voice divine the mighty chief alarms;
 The council breaks, the warriors rush to arms.
 The gates unfolding pour forth all their train,
 Nations on nations fill the dusky plain,
 Men, steeds, and chariots shake the trembling
 ground; 980
 The tumult thickens, and the skies resound.
 Amidst the plain in sight of Ilion stands
 A rising mount, the work of human hands,
 (This for Myrinne's tomb th' immortals know
 Tho' call'd Bateia in the world below) 985
 Beneath their chiefs in martial order here,
 Th' auxiliar troops and Trojan hosts appear.

Priam's great city holds auxiliar bands
 In language various as their numerous tribes;
 Each separate chief his separate troop command,
 And range his squadrons in the marshall'd field.

Ver. 976.] This is inaccurate. Travers seems preferable:
 The mighty chief the voice celestial knew:
 The council rose; to arms the warriors flew.
 But our poet caught up the rhymes of Ogilby,
 Hector, perceiving this no false alarm,
 Dismiss'd the council, and prepar'd to arm.

Ver. 981.] This circumstance of *the skies resounding* is adventitious, and might be suggested by Ogilby:

Thro' open gates both foot and chariots march,
 Whilst shouts and clamour shake heav'n's chrystal arch.

The godlike Hector, high above the rest,
Shakes his huge spear, and nods his plummy crest:
In throngs around his native bands repair, 990
And groves of lances glitter in the air.

Divine Æneas brings the Dardan race,
Anchises' son, by Venus' stol'n embrace,
Born in the shades of Ida's secret grove,
(A mortal mixing with the queen of love) 995
Archilochus and Acamas divide
The warrior's toils, and combat by his side.

Who fair Zeleia's wealthy valleys till,
Fast by the foot of Ida's sacred hill;

Ver. 988.] Travers is very elegant and faithful :

The sons of Troy undaunted Hector led ;

The dazzling plume wav'd o'er the warrior's head :

who may be thus continued, with a view to an accurate representation of the paragraph :

With him a numerous and a chosen train,

Fierce with their spears, were arming for the plain.

Ver. 992.] With a trivial correction this paragraph respecting Æneas would become superlatively excellent :

Æneas *brave* commands the Dardan race.

Ver. 994.] Homer may be literally rendered thus :

In Ida's glens, a goddess join'd with man.

so that Pope evidently followed Chapman :

Æneas of *commixed* seed (a goddess with a man,

Anchises *with the queen of love*) the troops Dardanian

Led to the field : his lovely fire, in Ida's *lower shade*,

Begat him of sweet Cypridis.

Thus Dryden at Æneid, vii. 915.

A mortal woman mixing with a god.

Or drink, Æsepus, of thy fable flood ; 1000
 Were led by Pandarus, of royal blood.
 To whom his art Apollo deign'd to show,
 Grac'd with the presents of his shafts and bow.

From rich Apæsus and Adrestia's tow'rs,
 High Teree's summits, and Pityea's bow'rs ; 1005
 From these the congregated troops obey
 Young Amphius and Adastrus' equal sway ;
 Old Merops' sons ; whom, skill'd in fates to come,
 The fire forewarn'd, and prophecy'd their doom :
 Fate urg'd them on ! the fire forewarn'd in vain,
 They rush'd to war, and perish'd on the plain. 1011

From Practius' stream, Percote's pasture lands,
 And Sestos and Abydos' neighb'ring strands,
 From great Arisba's walls and Selle's coast,
 Afius Hyrtacides conducts his host : 1015
 High on his car he shakes the flowing reins,
 His fiery courfers thunder o'er the plains.

Ver. 1012. *From Practius' stream, Percote's pasture lands.*] Homer does not expressly mention Practius as a river, but Strabo, lib. 13. tells us it is to be understood so in this passage. The appellation of pasture lands to Percote is justified in the xvth Iliad, ver. 646, where Melanippus the son of Hicetaon is said to feed his oxen in that place. P.

Ver. 1016.] This animated couplet represents but *three* words of his author :

Huge, fire-red courfers,

Ver. 1015. So Chapman :

Prince Afius Hyrtacides :

The fierce Pelasgi next, in war renown'd,
 March from Larissa's ever-fertile ground :
 In equal arms their brother leaders shine, 1020
 Hippothous bold, and Pyleus the divine.

Next Acamas and Pyrous lead their hosts,
 In dread array, from Thracia's wintry coasts ;
 Round the bleak realms where Hellespontus roars,
 And Boreas beats the hoarse-resounding shores.

With great Euphemus the Ciconians move, 1026
 Sprung from Træzenian Ceus, belov'd by Jove.

Pyræchmes the Pæonian troops attend,
 Skill'd in the fight their crooked bows to bend ;
 From Axius' ample bed he leads them on, 1030
 Axius, that laves the distant Amydon,
 Axius, that swells with all his neighb'ring rills,
 And wide around the floating region fills.

and, but for Ogilby, who has,

These under Axius their bold leader fought,
 Hyrtacus' son :

I should have questioned, how far our poet apprehended his author.

Ver. 1029.] Thus Chapman :

Pyrechmes did the Peons rule, that *crooked bowes do bend*.

Ver. 1032. *Axius, that swells with all his neighb'ring rills.*] According to the common reading this verse should be translated, *Axius that diffuses his beautiful waters over the land*. But we are assured by Strabo that Axius was a muddy river, and that the Ancients understood it thus, *Axius that receives into it several beautiful rivers*. The criticism lies in the last words of the verse, *Αἴης*, which Strabo reads *Αἴης*, and interprets of the river *Æa*, whose

The Paphlagonians Pylæmenes rules,
 Where rich Henetia breeds her savage mules, 1035
 Where Erythinus' rising cliffs are seen,
 Thy groves of box, Cytorus! ever green;
 And where Ægyalus and Cromna lie,
 And lofty Sefamus invades the sky;
 And where Parthenius, roll'd thro' banks of
 flow'rs, 1040
 Reflects her bord'ring palaces and bow'rs.
 Here march'd in arms the Halizonian band,
 Whom Odius and Epistrophus command,
 From those far regions where the sun refines
 The ripening silver in Alybean mines. 1045

waters were poured into Axius. However, Homer describes this river agreeable to the vulgar reading in Il. xxi. ver. 158. Ἀχίς, δὲ κάλλισον ὕδωρ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἵησιν. This version takes in both. P.

Ver. 1037.] This description of Cytorus, unknown to Homer, who mentions the name unaccompanied by any characteristic circumstance, our translator might take from Ogilby:

"Who plant sweet Sefam, and Cytorus' woods:

"Cytorum: here *box-trees* abounded." Virgil was his authority, in Georgic, ii. 437.

Et juvat undantem buxo spectare cytorum:

I love to see Cytorus float with box.

Ver. 1045.] This notion of the sun's agency is an addition of his own. In the same manner he speaks of *gold* in his *Moral Essays*:

Flam'd forth this rival to its *fire* the *sun*.

After Cowley in his Davideis, i. 71. a passage of genuine sublimity:

Beneath the silent chambers of the earth,

Where the *sun's* fruitful beams give *metals* birth;

Where he the growth of fatal *gold* does see:

There, mighty Chromis led the Mysian train,
 And augur Ennomus, inspir'd in vain,
 For stern Achilles lopt his sacred head,
 Roll'd down Scamander with the vulgar dead.

Phorcys and brave Ascanius here unite 1050
 Th' Ascanian Phrygians, eager for the fight.

Of those who round Mæonia's realms reside,
 Or whom the vales in shades of Tmolus hide,
 Meftles and Antiphus the charge partake ;
 Born on the banks of Gyges' silent lake. 1055

There, from the fields where wild Mæander
 flows,

High Mycale, and Latmos' shady brows,
 And proud Miletus, came the Carian throngs,
 With mingled clamours, and with barb'rous
 tongues.

and again in his *mistress, the Bargain* :

Can *gold* alas ! with thee compare ?

The *sun*, that *makes it*, 's not so fair.

Ver. 1046.] It were irksome and disrespectful to the reader to point out the numberless instances of poetic skill and native genius, exhibited by our translator : but, considering the untowardliness of his original, it is impossible not to admire his dextrous management of so untractable a passage. The reader, who is at all sceptical on this point, upon a trial of his powers, will probably feel himself inclined to acknowledge the justice of this remark.

Ver. 1057.] Homer does not mention Latmos : but these names occur together in Strabo, xiv. pp. 942, 943. See above the note on ver. 897 of this book.

Amphimachus and Naufes guide the train, 1060
 Naufes the bold, Amphimachus the vain,
 Who trick'd with gold, and glitt'ring on his car,
 Rode like a woman to the field of war,
 Fool that he was ! by fierce Achilles slain,
 The river swept him to the briny main : 1065
 There whelm'd with waves the gaudy warrior
 lies ;

The valiant victor seiz'd the golden prize.

The forces last in fair array succeed,
 Which blameless Glaucus and Sarpedon lead ;
 The warlike bands that distant Lycia yields, 1070
 Where gulphy Xanthus foams along the fields.

Ver. 1061.] Homer calls him Naufes : our translator seems to have followed Chapman :

Did under Naufes' colours march.

Ver. 1062.] The *car* was made by our translator. Thus Travers :

Who, deckt with gold, and fond of empty pride,
 Rode to the combat like a glitt'ring bride.

Ver. 1068.] This elegant conclusion is drawn from *two* lines of his original, which I render thus :

Sarpedon and the blameless Glaucus led
 The Lycians, far from Xanthus' gulphy stream.

Ver. 1071.] So Chapman :

From Lycia and the *gulfie* flood of Xanthus, far remov'd.

OBSERVATIONS

ON

THE CATALOGUE.

IF we look upon this piece with an eye to ancient learning, it may be observed, that however fabulous the other parts of Homer's poem may be, according to the nature of Epic Poetry; this account of the people, princes, and countries, is purely historical, founded on the real transactions of those times, and by far the most valuable piece of history and geography left us concerning the state of Greece in that early period. Greece was then divided into several dynasties, which our author has enumerated under their respective princes; and this division was looked upon so exact, that we are told of many controversies concerning the boundaries of Grecian cities, which have been decided upon the authority of this piece. Eustathius has collected together the following instances. The city of Calydon was adjudged to the Ætolians, notwithstanding the pretensions of Æolia, because Homer had ranked it among the towns belonging to the former. Sestos was given to those of Abydos, upon the plea that he had said the Abydonians were possessors of Sestos, Abydos and Arisbe. When the Milesians and people of Priene disputed their claim to Mycale, a verse of Homer carried it in favour of the Milesians. And the Athenians were put in possession of Salamis by another which was cited by Solon, or (as some think) interpolated by him for that purpose. Nay in so high estima-

tion has this catalogue been held, that (as Porphyry has written) there have been laws in some nations for the youth to learn it by heart, and particularly Cerdias (whom Cuperus de Apophth. Homer takes to be Cercydus, a lawgiver of the Megalopolitans) made it one to his countrymen.

But if we consider the catalogue purely as poetical, it will not want its beauties in that light. Rapin, who was none of the most superstitious admirers of our author, reckons it among those parts which had particularly charmed him. We may observe first, what an air of probability is spread over the whole poem by the particularizing of every nation and people concerned in this war. Secondly, what an entertaining scene he presents to us, of so many countries drawn in their liveliest and most natural colours, while we wander along with him amidst a beautiful variety of towns, havens, forests, vineyards, groves, mountains, and rivers; and are perpetually amused with his observations on the different soils, products, situations, or prospects. Thirdly, what a noble review he passes before us of so mighty an army, drawn out in order troop by troop; which, had the number only been told in the gross, had never filled the reader with so great a notion of the importance of the action. Fourthly, the description of the differing arms and manner of fighting of the soldiers, and the various attitudes he has given to the commanders: of the leaders, the greatest part are either the immediate sons of Gods,

or the descendants of Gods; and how great an idea must we have of a war, to the waging of which so many Demigods and heroes are assembled? Fifthly, the several artful compliments he paid by this means to his own country in general, and many of his contemporaries in particular, by a celebration of the genealogies, antient seats, and dominions of the great men of his time. Sixthly, the agreeable mixture of narrations from passages of history or fables, with which he amuses and relieves us at proper intervals. And lastly, the admirable judgment wherewith he introduces this whole catalogue, just at a time when the posture of affairs in the army rendered such a review of absolute necessity to the Greeks; and in a pause of action, while each was refreshing himself to prepare for the ensuing battles.

Macrobius in his Saturnalia, lib. v. cap. 15. has given us a judicious piece of criticism, in the comparison betwixt the catalogues of Homer and Virgil, in which he justly allows the preference to our author, for the following reasons. Homer (says he) has begun his description from the most noted promontory of Greece (he means that of Aulis, where was the narrowest passage to Eubœa). From thence with a regular progress he describes either the maritime or mediterranean towns, as their situations are contiguous: he never passes with sudden leaps from place to place, omitting those which lie between; but proceeding like a traveller

in the way he has begun, constantly returns to the place from whence he digressed, till he finishes the whole circle he designed. Virgil, on the contrary, has observed no order in the regions described in his catalogue, l. x. but is perpetually breaking from the course of the country in a loose and desultory manner. You have Clusium and Cofæ at the beginning, next Populonia and Ilva, then Pisæ, which lie at a vast distance in Etruria; and immediately after Cerete, Pyrgi, and Graviscæ, places adjacent to Rome: from hence he is snatched to Liguria, then to Mantua. The same negligence is observable in his enumeration of the aids that followed Turnus in l. vii. Macrobius next remarks, that all the persons who are named by Homer in his catalogue, are afterwards introduced in his battles, and whenever any others are killed, he mentions only a multitude in general. Whereas Virgil (he continues) has spared himself the labour of that exactness; for not only several whom he mentions in the list, are never heard of in the war, but others make a figure in the war, of whom we had no notice in the list. For example, he specifies a thousand men under Massicus who came from Clusium, l. x. ver. 167. Turnus soon afterwards is in the ship which had carried King Osinius from the same place, l. x. ver. 655. This Osinius was never named before, nor is it probable a king should serve under Massicus. Nor indeed does either Massicus or Osinius ever make their appear-

ance in the battles—He proceeds to instance several others, who though celebrated for heroes in the catalogue, have no farther notice taken of them throughout the poem. In the third place he animadverts upon the confusion of the same names in Virgil: as where Corinæus in the ninth book is killed by Afylas, ver. 571. and Corinæus in the twelfth kills Ebusus, ver. 298. Numa is slain by Nifus, l. ix. ver. 454. and Æneas is afterwards in pursuit of Numa, l. x. ver. 562. Æneas kills Camertes in the tenth book, ver. 562. and Juturna assumes his shape in the twelfth, ver. 224. He observes the same obscurity in his Patronymics. There is Palinurus Iafides, and Iapix Iacides, Hippocoon Hyrtacides, and Afylas Hyrtacides. On the contrary, the caution of Homer is remarkable, who having two of the name of Ajax, is constantly careful to distinguish them by Oileus or Telamonius, the lesser or the greater Ajax.

I know nothing to be alledged in defence of Virgil in answer to this author, but the common excuse that his Æneis was left unfinished. And upon the whole, these are such trivial slips, as great wits may pass over, and little Criticks rejoice at.

But Macrobius has another remark, which one may accuse of evident partiality on the side of Homer. He blames Virgil for having varied the expression in his catalogue, to avoid the repetition

of the same words, and prefers the bare and unadorned reiterations of Homer; who begins almost every article the same way, and ends perpetually, *Μέλαιναί νῆες ἔποντο*, &c. Perhaps the best reason to be given for this, had been the artless manner of the first times, when such repetitions were not thought ungraceful. This may appear from several of the like nature in the scripture; as in the twenty-sixth chapter of Numbers, where the tribes of Israel are enumerated in the plains of Moab, and each division recounted in the same words. So in the seventh chapter of the Revelations: *Of the tribe of Gad were sealed twelve thousand*, &c. But the words of Macrobius are, *Has copias fortasse putat aliquis divinæ illi simplicitati præferendas. Sed nescio quo modo Homerum repetitio illa unicè decet, & est genio antiqui Poëtæ digna.* This is exactly in the spirit, and almost in the cant, of a true modern critick. The *Simplicitas*, the *Nescio quo modo*, the *Genio antiqui Poëtæ digna*, are excellent general phrases for those who have no reasons. *Simplicity* is our word of disguise for a shameful unpoetical neglect of expression: the term of the *Je ne sçay quoy* is the very support of all ignorant pretenders to delicacy; and to lift up our eyes, and talk of the *Genius of an ancient*, is at once the cheapest way of shewing our own taste, and the shortest way of criticizing the wit of others our contemporaries.

One may add to the foregoing comparison of these two authors, some reasons for the length of Homer's, and the shortness of Virgil's catalogues. As, that Homer might have a design to settle the geography of his country, there being no description of Greece before his days; which was not the case with Virgil. Homer's concern was to compliment Greece at a time when it was divided into many distinct states, each of which might expect a place in his catalogue: but when all Italy was swallowed up in the sole dominion of Rome, Virgil had only Rome to celebrate. Homer had a numerous army, and was to describe an important war with great and various events, whereas Virgil's sphere was much more confined. The ships of the Greeks were computed at about one thousand two hundred, those of Æneas and his aids but at two and forty; and as the time of the action of both poems is the same, we may suppose the built of their ships, and the number of men they contained, to be much alike. So that if the army of Homer amounts to about a hundred thousand men, that of Virgil cannot be above four thousand. If any one be farther curious to know upon what this computation is founded, he may see it in the following passage of Thucydides, lib. i. "Homer's fleet (says he) consisted of one thousand two hundred vessels: those of the Bœotians carried one hundred and twenty men in each, and those of Philoctetes fifty. By these

“ I suppose Homer exprest the largest and the
“ smallest size of ships, and therefore mentions no
“ other sort. But he tells us of those who sailed with
“ Philoctetes, that they served both as mariners
“ and soldiers, in saying the rowers were all of
“ them archers. From hence the whole number
“ will be seen, if we estimate the ships at a medium
“ between the greatest and the least.” That is to
say, at eighty-five men to each vessel (which is the
mean between fifty and a hundred and twenty) the
total comes to a hundred and two thousand men.
Plutarch was therefore in a mistake, when he com-
puted the men at a hundred and twenty thousand,
which proceeded from his supposing a hundred
and twenty in every ship; the contrary to which
appears from the abovementioned ships of Phi-
loctetes, as well as those of Achilles, which are
said to carry but fifty men a-piece, in the sixteenth
Iliad, ver. 207.

Besides Virgil's imitation of this catalogue, there
has scarce been any Epic writer but has copied
after it; which is at least a proof how beautiful
this part has been ever esteemed by the finest ge-
niuses in all ages. The catalogues in the ancient
Poets are generally known, only I must take notice
that the Phocian and Boeotian towns in the fourth
Thebaid of Statius are translated from hence. Of
the moderns, those who most excel, owe their
beauty to the imitation of some single particular

only of Homer. Thus the chief grace of Tasso's catalogue consists in the description of the heroes, without any thing remarkable on the side of the countries: of the pieces of story he has interwoven, that of Tancred's amour to Clorinda is ill placed, and evidently too long for the rest. Spencer's enumeration of the British and Irish rivers in the eleventh canto of his fourth book, is one of the noblest in the world; if we consider his subject was more confined, and can excuse his not observing the order or course of the country; but his variety of description, and fruitfulness of imagination, are no where more admirable than in that part. Milton's list of the fallen angels in his first book, is an exact imitation of Homer, as far as regards the digressions of history, and antiquities, and his manner of inserting them: in all else I believe it must be allowed inferiour. And indeed what Macrobius has said to cast Virgil below Homer, will fall much more strongly upon all the rest.

I had some cause to fear that this catalogue, which contributed so much to the success of the author, should ruin that of the translator. A mere heap of proper names, though but for a few lines together, could afford little entertainment to an English reader, who probably could not be apprized either of the necessity or beauty of this part of the poem. There were but two things to be

done to give it a chance to please him; to render the versification very flowing and musical, and to make the whole appear as much a *landscape* or *piece of painting* as possible. For both of these I had the example of Homer in general; and Virgil, who found the necessity in another age to give more into description, seemed to authorise the latter in particular. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his discourse of the *Structure and disposition of words*, professes to admire nothing more than the harmonious exactness with which Homer has placed these words, and softened the syllables into each other, so as to derive musick from a croud of names, which have in themselves no beauty or dignity. I would flatter myself that I have practised this not unsuccessfully in our language, which is more susceptible of all the variety and power of numbers, than any of the modern, and second to none but the Greek and Roman. For the latter point, I have ventured to open the prospect a little, by the addition of a few epithets or short hints of description to some of the places mentioned; though seldom exceeding the compass of half a verse (the space to which my author himself generally confines these pictures in miniature). But this has never been done without the best authorities from the ancients, which may be seen under the respective names in the geographical table following.

The table itself I thought but necessary to annex to the map *, as my warrant for the situations assigned in it to several of the towns. For in whatever maps I have seen to this purpose, many of the places are omitted, or else set down at random. Sophianus and Gerbelius have laboured to settle the geography of old Greece, many of whose mistakes were rectified by Laurenbergius. These however deserved a greater commendation than those who succeeded them; and particularly Sanson's map prefixed to Du Pin's *Bibliothèque Historique*, is miserably defective both in omissions and false placings; which I am obliged to mention, as it pretends to be designed expressly for this catalogue of Homer. I am persuaded the greater part of my readers will have no curiosity this way, however they may allow me the endeavour of gratifying those few who have: the rest are at liberty to pass the two or three following leaves unread.

* The map, mentioned above, was not deemed of sufficient importance to be engraven anew for this edition.

A GEOGRAPHICAL TABLE

OF THE TOWNS, &c. IN

HOMER'S CATALOGUE OF GREECE,

With the Authorities for their Situation,

AS PLACED IN THIS MAP.

BŒOTIA, *under five Captains, PENELEUS, &c.*
containing,

AULIS, a haven on the Eubœan sea opposite to Chalcis, where the passage to Eubœa is narrowest. Strabo, lib. ix.

Eteon, Homer describes it a hilly country, and Statius after him—*densamque jugis Eteonen iniquis*. Theb. vii.

Hyrie, a town and lake of the same name, belonging to the territory of Tanagra or Græa. Strab. l. ix.

Schoenus, it lay in the road between Thebes and Anthedon, 50 stadia from Thebes. Strab. Ibid.

Scholos, a town under mount Cytheron. Ibid.

Thespia, near Haliartus, under mount Helicon. Paus. Bœot. near the Corinthian bay. Strab. l. ix.

Græa, the same with Tanagra, 30 stadia from Aulis,

on the Eubœan sea; by this place the river Asopus falls into that sea. Ibid.

Mycaleffus, between Thebes and Chalcis. Paus. Bœot. near Tanagra or Græa. Strab. l. ix. Famous for its pine-trees.—*Pinigeris Mycaleffus in agris*. Statius, l. vii.

Harma, close by Mycaleffus. Strab. l. ix. This town as well as the former lay near the road from Thebes to Chalcis. Paus. Bœot. It was here that Amphiaras was swallowed by the earth in his chariot, from whence it received its name. Strab. Ibid.

Ilesion, it was situate in the fens near Heleon and Hyle, not far from Tanagra. These three places took their names from being so seated (*Ἐλος, Palus.*) Strab. l. ix.

Erythræ, in the confines of

Attica near Plataea. Thucyd. l. iii. —dites pecorum comitantur Erythræ. Stat. Theb. vii.

Peteon, in the way from Thebes to Anthedon. Strab. l. ix.

Ocalea, in the mid-way betwixt Haliartus and Alalcomenes. Ibid.

Medeon, near Onchestus. Ibid.

Copæ, a town on the lake Copais, by the river Cephiſſus, next Orchomenus. Ibid.

Eutresis, a small town of the Theſpians near Thiſbe. Ibid.

Thiſbe, under mount Helicon. Pauſ. Bœot.

Coronea, ſeated on the Cephiſſus, where it falls into the lake Copais. Strab. l. ix.

Haliartus, on the ſame lake, Strab. Ibid. Bordering on Coronea and Plataea. Pauſ. Bœot.

Plataea, between Citheron and Thebes, divided from the latter by the river Aſopus. Strab. l. ix. Virideſque Plataeas. Stat. Th. vii.

Gliffa, in the territory of Thebes, abounding with vines. Baccho Glifanta colentes. Stat.

Thebæ, ſituate between the rivers Iſmenus and Aſopus. Strab. l. ix.

Oncheſtus, on the lake Copais. The grove conſecrated to Neptune in this place, and celebrated by Homer, together with a temple and ſtatue of that God, were ſhewn in the time of Pauſanias. Vide Bœot.

Arne, ſeated on the ſame lake, famous for vines, Strab. Hom.

Midea, on the ſame lake. Ibid.

Niſſa, or Nyſa (apud Statiſm) or according to Strabo, l. ix. Iſa; near Anthedon.

Anthedon, a city on the ſeaſide, oppoſite to Eubœa, the utmoſt on the ſhore towards Locris. Strab. l. ix. Teque ultima tractu Anthedon. Statiſm, l. vii.

Aſpledon, 20 ſtadia from Orchomenus. Strab. l. ix.

Orchomenus, and the plains about it, being the moſt ſpacious of all in Bœotia. (Plutarch in vit. Syllæ, circa medium.)

Homer diſtinguiſhes theſe two laſt from the reſt of Bœotia. They were commanded by Aſcalaphus and Ialmen.

PHOCIS, under SCHEDIUS and EPISTROPHUS,
containing,

Cypariſſus, the ſame with Anticyrra according to Pauſanias, on the bay of Corinth.

Pytho, adjoining to Parnafſus: ſome think it the ſame with Delphi, Pauſan. Phocic.

Crissa, a sea-town on the bay of Corinth near Cyrrha. Strab. l. ix.

Daulis, upon the Cephissus at the foot of Parnassus. Ibid.

Panopea, upon the same river, adjoining to Orchomenia, just by Hyampolis or Anemoria. Ibid.

Hyampolis, } both the same
Anemoria, } according to
 } Strabo. Ibid.
 } Confining upon
 } Locris. Paus.
 } Phoc.

Lilæa, at the head of the river Cephissus, just on the edge of Phocis. Ib.—pro-
pellentemque Lilæam Cephissi glaciale caput. Stat. l. vii.

LOCRIS, under AJAX OILEUS, containing,

Cynus, a maritime town towards Eubœa. Strab. l. ix.

Opus, a Locrian city, 15 stadia from the sea, adjacent to Panopæa in Phocis. Ib.

Calliarus.

Bessa, so called from being covered with shrubs. Strab. l. ix.

Scarphe, seated between Thronium and Thermopylæ,

ten stadia from the sea. Ibid.

Augiæ.

Tarphe.

Thronius, on the Melian bay. Strab. l. ix.

Boagrius, a river that passes by Thronius, and runs into the bay of Oeta, between Cynus and Scarphe. Ibid.

All these opposite to the isle of Eubœa.

EUBŒA, under ELPHENOR, containing,

Chalcis, the city nearest to the continent of Greece, just opposite to Aulis in Boeotia. Strab. l. x.

Eretria, between Chalcis and Gereftus. Ibid.

Histiœa, a town with vineyards, over-against Thessaly. Herod. l. vii.

Cerinthus, on the sea-shore.

Hom. Near the river Budorus. Strab. l. x.

Dios, seated high. Hom. Near Histiœa. Strab. Ib.

Carystos, a city at the foot of the mountain Ocha. Strab. Ibid. Between Eretria and Gereftus. Ptolem. l. iii.

Styra, a town near Carystos. Strab. Ibid.

ATHENS, *under* MENESTHEUS.*The Isle of* SALAMIS, *under* AJAX TELAMON.PELOPONNESUS, *the East Part divided into*ARGIA and MYCENÆ, *under* AGAMEMNON, *contains,*

Argos, 40 stadia from the sea. Paus. Corin.

Tyrinthe, between Argos and Epidaurus. Ibid.

Three cities lying in this order on the bay of Hermione. Strab. l. viii. Paus. Corin. Troezen was seated high, and Asine a rocky coast. — Altaque Troezen. Ov. Fast. ii. — Quos Asinæ cautes. Lucan. l. viii.

Asinen,
Hermion,
Troezen,

Eionæ was on the sea-side, for Strabo tells us the people of Mycenæ made it a station for their ships, l. viii.

Epidaurus, a town and little island adjoining, in the inner part of the Saronic bay. Strab. l. viii. It was fruitful in vines in Homer's time.

The isle of Ægina, over-against Epidaurus.

Maseta belongs to the Argolic shore according to Strabo, who observes that Homer names it not in the exact order, placing it with Ægina. Strab. l. viii.

Mycenæ, between Cleone and Argos. Str. Pausan.

Corinth, near the Isthmus.

Cleone, between Argos and Corinth. Paus. Corinth.

Ornia, on the borders of Sicyonia. Ibid.

Arethyria, the same with Phlyasia, at the source of the Achaian Asopus. Strab. l. viii.

Sicyon (anciently the kingdom of Adrastus) betwixt Corinth and Achaia. Paus. Corinth.

Hyperesia, the same with Ægira, says Pausan. Achaic. Seated betwixt Pellene and Helice. Strab. l. viii. Opposite to Parnassus. Polyb. l. iv.

Gonoëssa, Homer describes it situate very high, and Seneca Troas. Carens nunquam Gonoëssa vento.

Pellene, bordering on Sicyon and Pheneus, 60 stadia from the sea. Paus. Arcad. Celebrated anciently for its wool. Strab. l. viii. Jul. Pol.

Ægium,
Elice,

Next Sicyon lies Pellene, &c. then Helice, and next to Helice, Ægium. Strab. l. viii. Helice lies on the sea side, 40 stadia from Ægium. Paus. Ach.

*The West Part of PELOPONNESUS, divided into
LACONIA, MESSENIA, ARCADIA, and ELIS.*

LACONIA, under **MENELAUS**, containing,

Sparta, the capital city, on the river Eurotas.

Phares, on the bay of Messenia. Strab. l. viii.

Messa, Strabo thinks this a contraction of Messena, and Statius in his imitation of this catalogue, lib. iv. calls it so.

Bryfia, under mount Taygetus. Paus. Lacon.

Augiæ, the same with Ægiæ in the opinion of Pausanias

(Laconicis) 30 stadia from Gythium.

Amyclæ, 20 stadia from Sparta towards the sea. Ptol. l. iv. under the mountain Taygetus. Strab. l. viii.

Helos, on the sea-side. Hom. Upon the river Eurotas. Strab. Ibid.

Laas.

Oetylos, near the promontory of Tænarus. Paus. Lac.

MESSENIA, under **NESTOR**, containing,

Pylos, the city of Nestor on the sea-shore.

Arene, seated near the river Minyeius. Hom. Il. xi. Strab. l. viii.

Thryon, on the river Alpheus, the same which Homer elsewhere calls Thryoëssa. Strab. Ibid.

Æpy, the ancient Geographers differ about the situation of this town, but agree to place it near the sea. Vide Strab. l. viii.—Summis ingestum montibus Æpy. Stat. l. iv.

Cyparissie, on the borders of Messenia, and upon the bay called from it Cyparissæus. Paus. Messen.

Amphigenia, — Fertilis Amphigenia. Stat. Th. iv. near the former. So also, Pteleon, which was built by a colony from Pteleon in Thessaly. Strab. l. viii.

Helos, near the river Alpheus. Ibid.

Dorion, a field or mountain near the sea. Ibid.

ARCADIA, under **AGAPENOR**, containing,

The mountain Cyllene, the highest of Peloponnesus, on the borders of Achaia and Arcadia near Pheneus. Paus. Arcad. Under this stood the tomb of Æpytus. That mo-

nument (the same author tells us) was remaining in his time, it was only a heap of earth inclosed with a wall of rough stone.

Pheneus, confining on Pelene, and Stymphehus. Ibid.

Orchomenus, confining on Pheneus and Mantinea. Ibid.

These three, Strabo tells us, are not to be found, nor their situation assigned.

Ripe, Lib. viii. prope fin.
Stratie, & Enispe stood high, as
Enispe, appears from Hom. and Statius, l. iv.
Ventosaque donat Enispe.

Tegea, between Argos and Sparta. Polyb. l. iv.

Mantinea, bordering upon Tegea, Argia, and Orchomenus. Paus. Arcad.

Stymphehus, confining on Phylasia or Arethya. Strab. l. viii.

Parrhasia, adjoining to Laconia. Thucyd. l. v. — Parrhasiaque nives. Ovid. Fast. ii.

ELIS, under four Leaders, AMPHIMACHUS, &c. containing,

The city Elis 120 stadia from the sea. Paus. Eliacis ii.

Buprasium near Elis. Strab. l. viii.

The places bounded by the fields of Hyrmene, in the territory of Elis, between mount Cyllene and the sea.

Myrsinus, on the sea-side,

70 stadia from Elis, Strab. l. viii.

The Olenian Rocks, which stood near the city Olenos, at the mouth of the river Pierus. Paus. Achaic.

And Alysius, the name of a town or river, in the way from Elis to Pisa. Strab. l. viii.

The ISLES, over against the Continent of ELIS, ACHAIA, or ACARNANIA.

Echinades and Dulichium, under Meges.

The Cephallenians under Ulysses, being those from Samos (the same with Cephalonia) from Zacynthus, Grocylia, Ægilipa, Neritus, and Ithaca. This last is generally supposed to be the largest of these islands on the east side of Cephalonia, and next to it; but that is, according to

Wheeler, 20 Italian miles in circumference, whereas Strabo gives Ithaca but 80 stadia about. It was rather one of the lesser islands towards the mouth of the Achelous

Homer adds to these places under the dominion of Ulysses, Epirus and the opposite continent, by which (as M. Dacier observes) cannot be meant Epirus properly so called,

which was never subject to Ulysses, but only the sea-coast of Acarnania, opposite to the islands.

The Continent of ACARNANIA and ÆTOLIA,
under THOAS.

Pleuron, seated between Chalcis and Calydon, by the sea-shore, upon the river Evenus, west of Chalcis. Strab. l. x.

Olenos, lying above Calydon, with the Evenus on the east of it. Ibid.

Pylene, the same with Proschion, not far from Pleuron, but more in the land. Strab. l. x.

Chalcis, a sea-town. Hom. Situate on the East side of the Evenus. Strab. Ibid. There was another Chalcis at the head of the Evenus, called by Strabo Hypo-Chalcis.

Calydon, on the Evenus also. Ibid.

The Isle of CRETE, under IDOMENEUS, containing,

Gnosus, seated in the plain between Lyctus and Gortyna, 120 stadia from Lyctus. Strab. l. x.

Gortyna, 90 stadia from the African sea. Ibid.

Lyctus, 80 stadia from the same sea. Ibid.

Miletus.

Phœstus, 60 stadia from

Gortyna, 20 from the sea, under Gortyna. Strab. Ib. It lay on the river Jardan, as appears by Homer's description of it in the third book of the Odyssey.

Lycastrus.

Rhytium, under Gortyna. Strab.

The Isle of RHODES, under TLEPOLEMUS, containing,

Lindus, on the right-hand to those who sail from the city of Rhodes, southward. Strab. l. xiv.

Jalyssus, between Camirus and Rhodes. Ibid.

Camirus.

The Islands, SYMA (under NIREUS) NISYRUS, CARPATHUS, CASUS, COS, CALYDNÆ, under ANTIPHUS and PHIDIPPUS.

The Continent of THESSALY, toward the ÆGEAN sea, under ACHILLES.

Argos Pelasgicum (the same which was since called Phthiotis). Strabo, l. ix. says that some thought this the name of

a town, others that Homer meant by it this part of Thessaly in general (which last seems most probable). Steph. Byzant. observes, there was a city Argos in Thessaly, as well as in Peloponnesus; the former was called Pelasgic in contradistinction to the Achaian: for though the Pelasgi possessed several parts of Epirus, Crete, Peloponnesus, &c. yet they retained their principal seat in Thessaly. Steph. Byz. in v. Panel.

Both on the shore of Thessaly towards Locris. Strabo, l. ix. Alos, Alope, { Alos lies in the passage of Mount Othrys. Ib.

Trechinee, under the mountain Oeta. Eustath. in Il. ii.

{ Some supposed these two to be names of the same place, as Strabo says; though Phthia, 'tis plain Homer Hellas, { distinguishes them. Whether they were cities or regions Strabo is not determined. lib. ix.

The Hellenes. This denomination, afterwards common to all the Greeks, is here to be understood only of those who inhabited Phthiotis. It was not till long after Homer's time that the people of other cities of Greece desiring assistance from these, began to have the same name from their communication with them, as Thucydides remarks in the beginning of his first book.

The following under PROTESILAUS.

Phylace, on the coast of Phthiotis, toward the Melian bay. Strab. l. ix.

Pyrrhasus, beyond the mountain Othrys, had the grove of Ceres within two stadia of it. Ibid.

Itona, 60 stadia from Alos, it lay higher in the land than Pyrrhasus, above mount Othrys. Ibid.

Antron, on the sea-side. Hom. In the passage to Euboea. Ibid.

Pteleon, the situation of this town in Strabo seems to

be between Antron and Pyrrhasus: but Pliny describes it with great exactness to lie on the shore towards Boeotia, on the confines of Phthiotis, upon the river Sperchius; according to which particulars, it must have been seated as I have placed it. Livy also seats it on the Sperchius.

All those towns which were under Protesilaus (says Strabo, lib. ix.) being the five last mentioned, lay on the eastern side of the mountain Othrys.

These under EUMELUS.

Pheræ, in the farthest part of Magnesia, confining on mount Pelion. Strab. l. ix. Near the lake of Bæbe. Ptol. And plentifully watered with

the fountains of Hyperia. Strab.

Glaphyræ.

Iolcos, a sea-town on the Pegasæan bay. Livy, l. iv. and Strab.

Under PHILOCTETES.

Methone, a city of Macedonia, 40 stadia from Pydna in Pieria. Strab.

Thaumacia, { In Phthiotis
near Pharfalus,
Moelibea, { according to the
same author.
Ib.

Olyzon. It seems that this place lay near Bæbe, Iolcos, and Ormenium, from Strab. l. ix. where he says, Demetrius caused the inhabitants of these towns to remove to Demetrias on the same coast.

*The Upper THESSALY.**The following under PODALIRIUS and MACHAON.*

Trice, or Tricce, not far from the mountain Pindus, on the left-hand of the Peneus, as it runs from Pindus. Strab. lib. ix.

Ithome, near Trica. Ibid.

Oechalia, the situation not certain, somewhere near the forementioned towns. Strab. Ibid.

Under EURYPYLUS.

Ormenium, under Pelion, on the Pegasæan bay, near Bæbe. Ibid.

Asterium, hard by Pheræ and Titanus. Ibid.

Under POLYPHÆTES.

Argifa, lying upon the river Peneus. Strab. lib. ix.

Gyrton, a city of Perrhæbia, at the foot of Olympus. Ibid.

Orthe, near Peneus and Tempus. Ibid.

Elope, { Both lying un-
der Olympus, near
Olooson, { the river Titare-
sius. Ibid.

Under GUNEUS and PROTHEUS.

Cyphus, seated in the mountainous country, towards Olympus. Ibid.

Dodona, among the mountains, towards Olympus. Ibid.

Titaresius, a river rising in the mountain Titarus, near Olympus, and running into

Peneus. Ibid. 'Tis also called Eurotas.

The river Peneus rises from mount Pindus, and flows through Tempe into the sea. Strab. l. vii. and ix.

Pelion, near Ossa, in Magnesia. Herod. l. vii. P.

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A

TABLE OF TROY,

AND THE

AUXILIAR COUNTRIES.

THE kingdom of Priam, divided into eight dynasties.

1. Troas, under Hector, whose capital was Ilion.

2. Dardania, under Æneas, the capital Dardanus.

3. Zeleia, at the foot of Ida, by the Æsepus, under Pandarus.

4. Adrestia, Apæsus, Pityea, mount Teree, under Adrastus and Amphius.

5. Sestos, Abydos, Arisbe

on the river Selle, Percote, and Practius, under Asius.

These places lay between Troy and the Propontis.

The other three dynasties were under Mynes, Eetion, and Alteus; the capital of the first was Lyrnessus, of the second Thebe of Cilicia, of the third Pedasus in Lelegia. Homer does not mention these in the catalogue, having been before destroyed and depopulated by the Greeks.

The Auxiliar Nations.

The Pelasgi, under Hippothous and Pyleus, whose capital was Larissa, near the place where Cuma was afterwards built. Strab. l. xiii.

The Thracians, by the side of the Hellespont opposite to Troy, under Acamas and Pyrous, and those of Ciconia, under Euphemus.

The Pœonians from Ma-

cedonia and the river Axios, under Pyrechmes.

The Paphlagonians, under Pylæmeneus. The Halizonians, under Odius and Epistrophus. The Mysians, under Cromis and Ennomus. The Phrygians of Ascania, under Phorcys and Ascanius.

The Mæonians, under Mestles and Antiphus, who

inhabited under the mountain Tmolus.

The Carians, under Naustes and Amphimachus, from Miletus, the farthermost city of Caria towards the south. Herodot. l. 1.

Mycale, a mountain and promontory opposite to Samos. Ibid.

Pthiron, the same moun-

tain as Latmos, according to Hecatæus.

The Lycians, under Sarpedon and Glaucus, from the banks of the river Xanthus, which runs into the sea betwixt Rhodes and Cyprus. Homer mentions it to distinguish this Lycia from that which lies on the Propontis.

END OF VOL. I.

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Homerus, ca. v8. Jh. / Pope, Alexander, 1688-1744 / Wakefield, Gilbert, 1756-1801

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